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ACADEMIA ROMÂNĂ
SECȚIA DE ȘTIINȚE BIOLOGICE
Calea Victoriei 125
79717 București 22
Téléphone 650 50 28

EDITURA ACADEMIEI ROMÂNE
Calea Victoriei 125
79717 București 22
Téléphone 650 76 80

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POROTIC HYPEROSTOSIS IN THE FREE DACIANS' NECROPOLIS AT POIENEȘTI (VASLUI COUNTY): CONGENITAL HEMOLYTIC ANEMIA OR IRON DEFICIENCY ANEMIA? PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

N. MIRIȚOIU

The complex archaeological unit in "Măgura" of the Limetrees Hill — Poienești (Vaslui country) is placed in the northern edge of the Tutova Hillocks in the Moldavian Central Plateau.

Older¹ and more recent² archeological researches revealed there several settlements and necropolises ranging chronologically from the latest Neolithic to the feudal epoch.

Among these, the necropolis belonging to the Free Dacian population ("Carpi"), who lived in Moldavia in the second and third century A. D., is very important³. This necropolis counts so far 189 tombs (115 of cremation and 74 of inhumation) integrated in the phase of highest cultural, demographic and military development of these populations.

The osteologic material from 103 tombs of cremation and 66 of inhumation⁴ and also a number of funeral remains from the destroyed graves are available for anthropological research⁵.

¹ C. Cihodaru : Contribuții pentru fixarea unei hărți preistorice a Daciei (Stațiuni preistorice în județul Vaslui), *A. Arh.*, 7—8, 1931—32, pp. 50—53; Idem : Poienești-Tamasidava (O așezare carpică în Moldova centrală), *A. Arh.*, 13—14, 1937—38, pp. 30—59; R. Vulpe : Săpăturile de la Poienești din 1949, *Materiale*, 1, 1953, pp. 213—506.

² M. Babeș, N. Mirițoiu, M. Istrate, G. Coman : Raport preliminar privind reluarea săpăturilor de la Poienești — 1979, *Acta Mold. Merid.*, 1, 1980, pp. 35—44; M. Babeș : Săpăturile de la Poienești (jud. Vaslui) și contribuția lor la cunoașterea pre- și protoistoriei Daciei răsăritene, in : *Documente recent descoperite și informații arheologice*, A.S.S.P., Buc. 1983, pp. 3—16. Also and, M. Babeș, N. Mirițoiu : Contribuția noilor cercetări de la Poienești la studiul pre- și protoistoriei spațiului est carpatic al României, *Com. Ses. Mus. Vaslui* — 12—13 May 1989, summarizing the most important results of the diggings made by two authors.

³ For the problem of the material culture and of the history of the Free Dacians from the Eastern Carpathians see, Gh. Bichir : *Cultura carpică*, Buc., 1973; Idem : *The Archaeology and History of the Carpi from the Second to the Fourth Century A.D.*, BAR Supplementary series 16/1, Oxford, 1976; I. Ioniță : *Din istoria și civilizația dacilor liberi. Dacii din spațiul est-carpatic în sec. II—III e. n.*, Junimea, Iași, 1982.

⁴ The osteologic materials from 12 tombs of cremation and 8 of inhumation from the excavations of prof. R. Vulpe are missing.

⁵ It is a matter of isolated bone remains (especially from the tombs of inhumated children) dispersed by underground animals and also by subsequent settlements. The place of their discovery was fixed on the digging map but even now they were not included in the counting of the tombs. We can estimate that they result from at least 13 individuals. The analysis of the necropolis map can also indicate that roughly 85% from the whole necropolis was excavated at the end of the 1991 campaign.

Paleodemographic data (Table 1) emphasize that both graves of cremation and of inhumation should be considered contemporaneous and belonging to the same population. If we assign them to different populations⁶ we could reach an absurd situation, such as depriving the cremated adults of their children and the inhumated children of their parents.

As we have proved⁷, it is a matter of funeral behaviour called by us *complementary biritualism*, which means that corpses of individuals who died before reaching 7 years⁸ (probably the initiation age) were inhumated while those deceased after this age were cremated⁹.

Up to the present, only bone remains from the inhumation tombs have been thoroughly examined, those of cremation tombs being just partially studied. However, pathological osseous modifications in a series of individuals buried in this necropolis—skeleton markers of infantile chronic anemias—urged us to discuss this problem, important not only for its novelty in the Romanian scientific literature, but also for its implications within the biological research on the ancient populations in general.

Known as early as 1888, such bone modifications were previously described in the paleopathological literature by the terms: *Cribra orbitalia*¹⁰, *Cribra cranii*¹¹, *Osteoporosis symmetrica*¹² and *Hyperostosis spongiosa*¹³. Each of these partly covered only some particular aspects concerning skeleton localization and their appearance. *Hyperostosis porotica*¹⁴, the general term accepted today, includes the essential constituents of the pathologic process and without specifying a certain localization, suggests a systemic spreading.

⁶ The thesis of the affiliation of inhumation tombs to the Sarmatians was (and is still) sustained especially by Gh. Bichir in a long series of publications from which we quote here only the first: Gh. Bichir: Unele observații cu privire la necropolele de tip Poienesti din Moldova și relațiile acestor necropole cu Ținutul sarmatică, *SCIV*, 12, 1961, pp. 253–71.

⁷ N. Mirițoiu: Atribuirea etnologică a mormintelor de înmormântare din cadrul necropolelor carpice, *Com. Arch. Inst. Buc., Fel.* 1983, (in preparation for Dacia 1993).

⁸ The oscillations around this age, which can be remarked in table 1, could be explained by differences between the chronologic and biologic (dental) age, which for the children from Poienesti was determined after the diagram compiled by H. W. Ubelaker: *Human Skeletal Remains. Excavation, Analysis, Interpretation. Manuals on Archeology*, nr. 2, Washington, 1980, pp. 46–47.

⁹ The exception to this rule was probably due to some special events, such as the death of the mother and child at birth (illustrated by two new-borns from double cremations mother-child), or to the physical and/or psychic abnormal condition of the individuals (such as the inhumated T. 553, 12–14 years old, who was a hydrocephalus).

¹⁰ H. Welcker: *Cribra Orbitalia. Ein ethnologisch-diagnostische Merkmal am Schädel mehrerer Menschenrassen*, *Archiv Anthropol.*, 17, 1888, pp. 1–18.

¹¹ F. Henschen: *Cribra cranii*, a skull condition said to be of racial or geographical nature, *Path. Microbiol.*, 21, 1961, pp. 724–29.

¹² A. Hrdlička: Anthropological Work in Peru in 1913, with Notes on the Pathology of Ancient Peruvians, *Smithson. Misc. Coll.*, 61 (18), 1914, pp. 57–59; H. U. Williams: Human Paleopathology with Some Original Observations on Symmetrical Osteoporosis of the Skull, *Archiv Pathol.*, 7, 1929, pp. 839–902.

¹³ H. Muller: Osteoporosis in the cranium in Javanese, *Am. J. Phys. Anthropol.*, 20, 1935, p. 493. Also and, L. Hamperi, P. Weiss: Über die spongiöse Hyperostose an Schädeln aus Alt-Peru, *Archiv Pathol. Anat.*, 327, 1955, pp. 629–42.

¹⁴ J. L. Angel: Porotic Hyperostosis or Osteoporosis Symmetrica, in: D. Brothwell, A. T. Sandison (eds.), *Diseases in Antiquity*, Charles C. Thomas, Springfield, Illinois, 1967, pp. 378–89. And also, A. Ascenzi: Rapporti ed interferenza tra osso e midolla in tema di ematologia, in: *Atti XV Congr. naz. Soc. Ital. Ematol. Catane*, 1957, pp. 31–81.

Before presenting the Poieniști sample, for a clear understanding of the elements of positive and differential diagnosis as well as of the possibilities and assessment limits of the phenomenon gravity on an individual and populational level, we sum up Ascenzi's conclusions on bone modifications and the generated physiopathologic mechanisms¹⁵.

Thus, to compensate the effects of chronic anemias caused by serious disorders in the differentiation of the erythrome connected to hemoglobin synthesis, which put in circulation red cells with limited vitality, the organism answers by stimulating the erythropoietic function of hematogeneous marrow. Extremely hyperplastic, this increases its volume, involving in the period of growth and development of the skeleton, alterations and structural modifications of the bones which protect it.

In spite of their apparent complexity and diffusion (systemic, as a matter of fact), these bone modifications essentially refer to two pathologic elementary expressions.

First, it is an *osteoporosis* of different degrees (but yet on a high level) which, by resorptions and structural reshufflings, produces an additional medullary space, increasing on the one side the volume of the diploic cells and, on the other side, extending the spongy bone to the detriment of the compacta. Thus, the thinness of the osseous trabeculae which formed the diploë, the merging of the diploic cells, the secondary medullarisation of some areas with compact tissue and the thinness of compacta up to total disappearance, have been recorded.

Second, it is a *hyperostosis* which, by endosteal appositions increases the volume of the bone by thickening the diploë, and by periosteal expansions forms an external medullary space. Thus, newly formed osseous trabeculae of a particular characteristic type, having perpendicular orientation on the bone surface within interposed medullary cells opened outward, are observed. From a radiologic point of view, the bone is discontinuous, like a brush¹⁶.

Reaching the greatest expressiveness in infancy, these modifications are reduced in the adult age; at birth all bone marrow is hematogeneous (red), after that it tends to partly transform itself into adipose tissue (yellow marrow)¹⁷. The process is extrinsic in the extremities of the long bones and it is developed centripetally from the distal parts to the proximal

¹⁵ A. Ascenzi, *op. cit.* note 14, and also: Problemi di paleopathologia, in: L'Uomo di Saccopastore e il suo ambiente. I Neandertaliani nel Lazio, *Riv. di Antrop.*, Suppl. 62, 1983, pp. 99—122. Concerning this problem the contributions of E. J. Moseley are very important (*Bone changes in hematologic disorders*, Grunne and Stratton, New York, 1963; Radiographic studies in hemolytic bone disease. Implications for paleopathology, in: S. Jarho (ed.), *Human paleopathology*, Yale Univ. Press., New Haven, 1966, pp. 121—30).

¹⁶ Such periosteal proliferations can appear in all the skeleton levels. In the skull vault the radiologic image was called hair-on-end, crew-cut-skull, cranio a spezzola, Bürstenschädel, etc.

¹⁷ Such an observation was confirmed by the researches of J. Caffey (Cooley's erythroblastic anemia. Some skeletal findings in adolescents and young adults, *Amer. J. Roentgenol.*, 65, 1951, pp. 547—60). It is shown that the two osseous lesions of thalassemia are between limits capable to regression in the adult age. Also, P. Stuart-Macadam: Porotic hyperostosis: representative of childhood condition, *Am. J. Phys. Anthropol.*, 66, 1985, pp. 391—98, argued that the cranium lesions observed in adults are traces from the childhood anemia which is not obligatorily persistent in the adult age, and also that in adults, anemias are less susceptible to produce cranium lesions.

ones, the red marrow persisting inter alia only in the proximal epiphyses of the femurs and humerus. Towards 16 years of age the transformation is complete and red marrow fills only 48% of the medullary space, being distributed apart from the mentioned places in the skull, ribs, sternum, pelvis and spine.

Thus, medullary hyperplasia can be achieved only by increasing the osseous space in childhood while after the juvenile age, it can be achieved by replacing the adipose tissue with the hematogenous one. In the adult age, it is compressed in the spaces where the red marrow is major functionally — the spine — evolving in the limits of the bone volume and, eventually, producing tumefactions.

These structural modifications, on which the increase of the medullary spaces depends, take place within some limits, keeping an equilibrium between resorptions and appositions so that the mechanical resistance of the bone is not greatly compromised¹⁸.

Studies on skeletons as well as on hospitalized patients prove that the development rate of porotic hyperostosis was highly variable and that the phenomenon gradually develops reaching all skeleton segments¹⁹. The skull vault, the zygomatics²⁰, the scapulae, the cervical region of the ribs and the metaphyses of the long bones are very affected.

According to Baker in thalassemia osseous changes are visible in the first 6 months of life, without being outstanding²¹. They begin with the alteration of the orbit roof and then progressively extend to the other parts of the vault. For these reasons, the development degree of the phenomenon must be separately assessed for each area: orbits, vault and postcranium. In many cases this is a difficult operation.

Nathan and Haas²² divided the development of cribra orbitalia into three degrees: *porotic*, *cribrotic* and *trabecular*, while Hengen²³ using also their data, into seven degrees, the first two corresponding to the porotic type, the other four to the cribrotic and trabecular ones and the last presenting a greater gravity than those of the former authors. The same classification is available also for the skull vault.

Also, Maresik and Kósa by means of a histologic research better defined the porotic, cribrotic and trabecular stages bringing new proofs that *hyperostosis spongiosa orbitae or cranii* (7 Hengen degree), represents only a more serious manifestation of the same pathologic process²⁴.

¹⁸ Fact illustrated by the extreme rarity of the pathological fractures in the cases of *Thalassemia major*.

¹⁹ Even if these transformations are not always macroscopically visible on the surface of the bones, by means of cross-sections, the phenomena of secondary medullarisation can be emphasized.

²⁰ Particularly the prominence of the zygomatics contributes to a distortion of the face which suggests the term "facies orientalo-ides".

²¹ D. H. Baker: Roentgen manifestation of Cooley's anemia, *Ann. N. Y. Acad. Sci.*, 119, 1964, p. 641.

²² H. Nathan, N. Haas: "Cribra orbitalia". A bone condition of the orbit of unknown nature. Anatomical study with etiological considerations, *Israel J. Med. Sci.*, 2, 1966, p. 71—91.

²³ O. Hengen: Cribra Orbitalia: Pathogenesis and probable etiology, *Homo*, 22, 1971, 2, pp. 57—76.

²⁴ A. Maresik, F. Kósa: Ujabl adatok egy vitatott paleopathologiai lelet aetiologiájához szövettani vizsgálat alapján, *Anthrop. Köz.*, 20, 1976, pp. 127—31.

Finally, Fornaciari, Mezzetti and Cuni classify hyperostosis as an *easy form* (expressed in 1–3 Hengen degrees for the orbit roof, the absence of thickening of the diploë vault and of the osteoporosis in long bones), and a *severe form* (including 4–7 Hengen degrees for the orbit, the thickening of the diploë in the vault and the presence of long bones osteoporosis²⁵).

At Poienesti, we notice that in 169 tombs available to anthropologic research, 176 individuals have been identified, 6 cremation graves containing double and triple burials (in two cases mother-child, in other three — two adults and in one case a mother and two foetus). Among these, 48.4% are subadults and 51.6% are adults (over 20 years old), rate which can be considered satisfactory from a paleodemographic point of view (Table 1).

Table 1

Age determination, funeral rite and preliminary frequency of porotic hyperostosis

Age years	Rite		Total		Porotic hyperostosis		
	Inhumation	Cremation	N	%	Inhumation	Cremation	Total
fetus	—	2	2	1.13	—	—	—
0–1	28	2	30	17.04	6	—	6
1–2	16	—	16	9.09	8	—	8
2–3	8	—	8	4.54	4	—	4
3–4	1	—	1	0.56	—	—	—
4–5	1	—	1	0.56	1	—	1
5–6	1	—	1	0.56	1	—	1
6–7	5	2	7	3.97	4	—	4
7–8	2	1	3	1.70	1	1	2
8–10	1	—	1	0.56	—	—	—
10–12	—	2	2	1.13	—	1	1
12–14	3	3	6	3.40	3	—	3
14–16	—	2	2	1.13	—	—	—
16–18	—	4	4	2.27	—	4	4
18–20	—	1	1	0.56	—	—	—
20–x	—	91	91	51.13	—	1	1
Total	66	110	176	99.63	28	4	32

So far, 32 cases of porotic hyperostosis have been diagnosed and analysed, 28 in inhumation graves and 4 in cremation graves. The two categories of tombs are still unequally studied and also the deficient condition of most of the osteologic material does not allow integral observation. This number of cases is, of course, smaller than the real one.

As for the childhood age, we noticed that 6 among the 30 children under one year old also presented osseous changes related to porotic

²⁵ G. Fornaciari, M. G. Mezzetti, C. Cuni: Iperostosi porotica nella Campania costiera antica: malnutrizione o anemie emolitiche congenite? I risultati delle indagini paleonutrizionali a Pontecagano, Salerno (VII – IV secole A. C.), *Riv. di Antrop.*, **67**, 1989, pp. 149–60.

hyperostosis, though in the first year of life these changes are rare. Two of them (T. 575 and T. 936) were even younger than 6 months.

Also, in the age interval of 1–2 and 2–3 years, half of the individuals were affected, the rate increasing in the interval of 6–8 years and coming back to the same level in the interval 10–14 years.

Only two cases have been recorded for juvenile and adults, which means a substantial decreasing of the rate of affected individuals, although this rate is proper only for the juvenile age (1 in 7 subjects compared to 1 in 20 studied adults).

As concerns the degree of the individual affecting and the location of the lesions, we must point out that the orbit is affected in most of the cases, and this cribra orbitalia does not exceed 5 Hengen degree (most being of porotic type and only a few of trabecular incipient type). Porosities of different degrees are also recorded on the parietals and occipitals in both sides of lambdoid suture, on the frontal bosses, temporal squama and the wing of the sphenoid. In three of the cases these porosities look like pumice stone or coral (“cranio a bucherellato”).

In many of the cases, although the outer table is not destroyed or is has only fine perforations, the hypertrophy of the diploë can easily be observed, expressed by the uncommon thickening of the vault at the level of the frontal bosses and supraorbital area (with an intense secondary medullarisation of the supraorbital ridges), of the parietals and also of the great wings of sphenoids.

Also, in two cases (T. 575 and T. 552) modifications have been recorded on the inside part of the frontal and parietal bones, which present strong periosteum apposition performing a trabecular rayed aspects. Such cases have been mentioned by Angel²⁶ in some newborns in the necropolis of Lerna-Greece (Middle Bronze Age) and also by Williams²⁷ in modern German and Japanese children²⁸.

In the postcranial skeleton (not quite well preserved at Poienestî), porosities of different degrees are recorded in the area of the metaphyses of the long bones and also trabecular aspects on the femur column.

Analysing, in general, the series of cases with porotic hyperostosis from Poienestî, we came to the conclusion that the frequency of individuals who presented, on their decease, such osseous changes was very high (and especially in the age group infants I and II), but the degree of these modifications in the individual level was reduced enough, the lesions reaching a special quote only in one case (T. 700, 1–2 years old).

These observations agree with the conclusions of many authors who have studied porotic hyperostosis in ancient populations. They have shown that the cases which reach the level of osseous transformations are seldom recorded in modern children; in former times, children with

²⁶ J. L. Angel, *op. cit.*, nota 14.

²⁷ H. U. Williams, *op. cit.* nota 12.

²⁸ It is not obvious that this type of endocranium changes could constitute the first stage of hyperostosis, especially as, in our cases, only T. 575 is in the first month of life and T. 552 is aged 12–18 months.

chronic anemias died before the changes secondary to medullary hyperplasia became comparable to those of individuals who benefitted from hospital care and especially transfusions.

Concerning the causes of medullary hyperplasia, medical researches point to a wide range of hematologic disorders (Table 2) ²⁹.

Eliminating the etiologies which because of their rarity cannot explain the frequency of hyperostosis in the prehistoric sample (primary and secondary polycythemia and familial elliptocytosis) and also those which involve only occasional osseous transformations (G6PD and PK deficiencies), the debate can be centred round two groups of affections: *acquired anemias* (by iron deficiency and chronic malaria) and *congenital hemolytic anemias* (abnormal hemoglobins and hereditary spherocytosis).

As for iron deficiency anemia, its specific etiology can not always be determined. It can be the result of severe and chronic malnutrition in childhood, sometimes due to the prolongation of exclusive suckling ³⁰, or to the interference in iron absorption of some elements which formed insoluble complexes with iron (phosphates and phytate) ³¹.

It can also be the result of excessive iron losses by infections with intestinal parasites (hookworms), or of ceaseless reinoculation with different types of *Plasmodium* (chronic malaria) ³².

At present it is spread in undeveloped countries; in prehistoric times it was probably responsible for many of the cases assigned by paleo-anthropologists to hemolytic anemia.

²⁹ We chronologically quote the studies which marked these discoveries, T.B. Cooley, E. R. Witwer, P. Lee: Anemia in children with splenomegaly and peculiar changes in the bones, *Am. J. Diseases Children*, 34, 1927, p. 347; L. W. Digg, H. N. Pullian, J. C. King: The bone changes in sickle cell anemia, *South. Med. J.*, 30, 1937, p. 249; J. Caffey, *op. cit.* note 17; Idem: The Skeletal Changes in the Chronic Hemolytic Anemias (erythroblastic anemia, sickle cell anemia and chronic hemolytic icterus), *Am. J. Roentgenol.*, 77, 1957, p. 293; Lie Injo Luan Eng: Chronic iron deficiency anemia with bone changes resembling Cooley's anemia, *Acta Hematol.*, 19, 1958, p. 263; A. Ascenzi, V. Marinozzi: Sur le « crane en brosse » au cours des polyglobulies secondaires à l'hypoxémie chronique, *Acta Hematol.*, 19, 1958, p. 253; H. A. Britton, J. P. Cambly, C. M. Kohler: Iron deficiency anemia producing evidence of marrow hyperplasia in calvarium, *Pediatrics*, 25, 1960, p. 621; H. Burko, H. Z. Mellins, J. Watson: Skull changes in iron deficiency anemia simulating congenital hemolytic anemia, *Am. J. Roentgenol.*, 1961, p. 447; J. W. Powell, H. S. Weens, N. K. Wenger: The skull roentgenogram iron deficiency anemia and secondary polycythemia, *Am. J. Roentgenol.*, 95, 1965, p. 143; M. Aksoy, N. Camli, S. Erdem: Roentgenographic bone changes in chronic iron deficiency anemia *Blood*, 27, 1966, p. 667. Naturally, the determination of the etiology of porotic hyperostosis in the prehistoric sample also follows this history which can be divided into 3 periods delimited by the discovery of the osseous manifestations of thalassemia (1927) and if iron deficiency anemia (1958).

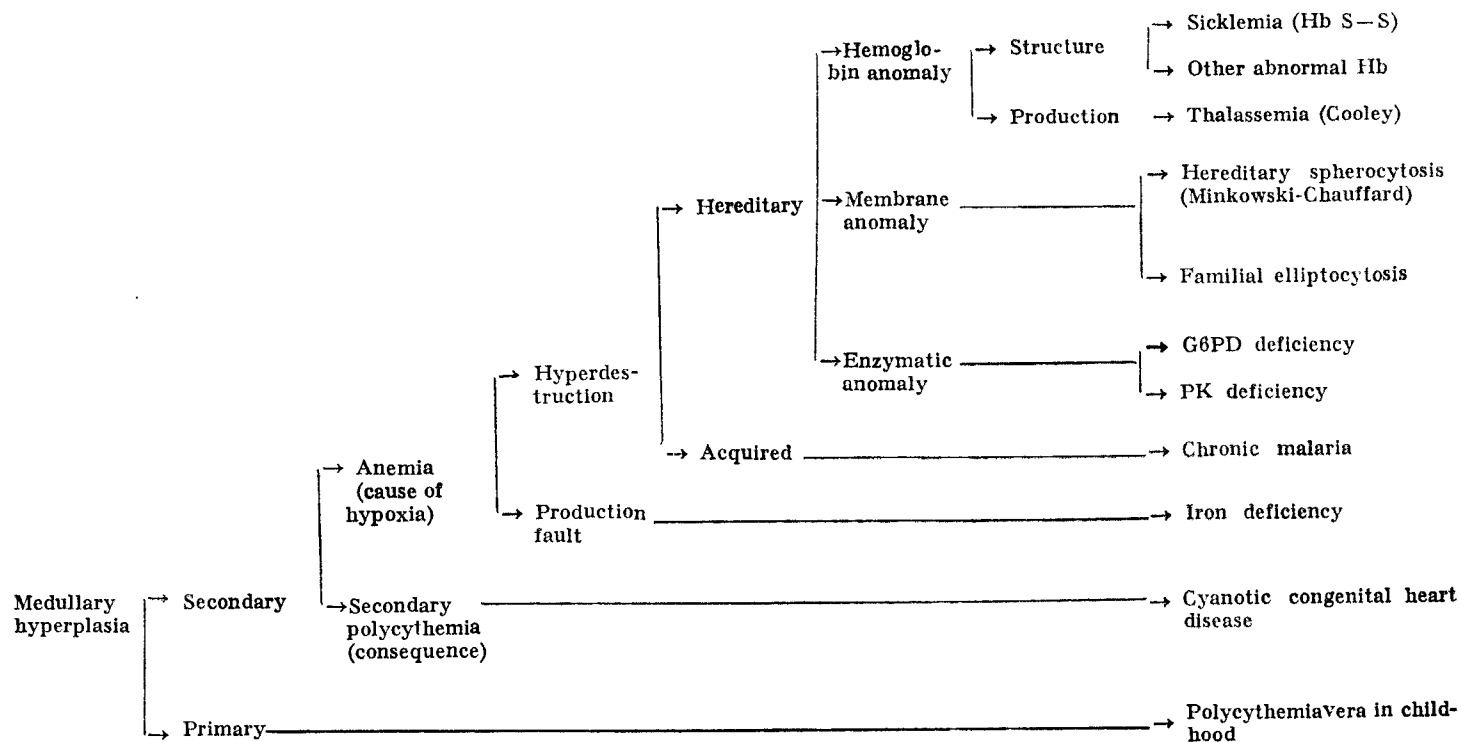
³⁰ The mother's milk is poor in iron and the iron reserve of the new-born is exhausted in a few months. See in this connection, J. E. Moseley: The paleopathologic riddle of "symmetrical osteoporosis", *Am. J. Roentgenol. Rad. Ther. Nucl. Med.*, 95, 1965, p. 135. The same effect is achieved by feeding the child exclusively on goat milk, apud P. A. Janssens: Porotic Hyperostosis and Goat's Milk: A Theory (More), *OSSA (Lund)*, 8, 1981, pp. 101 — 108.

³¹ R. L. Pike, M. L. Brown: *Nutrition: An integrated approach*, 3rd ed., New York, 1984, quoted apud D. C. Hodges: *Agricultural intensification and prehistoric health in the valley of Oaxaca, Mexico, Memories of the Museum of Anthropology, Univ. of Michigan*, nr. 22, Ann Arbor, 1989.

³² J. E. Moseley, *op. cit.* note 30; O. Dutour: Paléopathologie d'hommes néolithiques du Sahara Malien. Région d'Hassi-el-Abiod et de l'erg Ine-Sakkane, *Bull. Mus. d'Anthropol. préhist. Monaco*, 27, 1983, pp. 85 — 121.

Table 2

Physiopathologic classifications of the hematologic disorders susceptible to involve a hypertrophy of the diploë. Apud O. Dutoir 1983.



Among congenital hemolytic anemias, sickle cell anemia and thalassemia are hereditary diseases in which the disorders are manifested at the level of the synthesis of the hemoglobin molecule, a consequence of the mutation of structural (sickle cell anemia) or regulated (thalassemia) globin genes. They are autosomally recessively transmitted. Homozygotes rarely outlived childhood, but the heterozygotes are more resistant to *Falciparum malaria* parasites than normal people ³³.

This selective advantage leads to the increasing of the abnormal gene frequency (Aa), compensated by the death of the normal homozygotes (AA) by malaria and abnormal (aa) by hemolytic anemia, suggestively called balanced polymorphism ³⁴.

Their geographic distribution is only partially overlapping, but it coincides with the major area of spreading of the *Falciparum malaria* parasites ³⁵.

Hereditary spherocytosis (Minkowski-Chauffard's disease) is probably autosomally dominantly transmitted. The homozygous do not survive. It is distributed in Northern Italy and France, Northern and Central Europe ³⁶, with a frequency of 1/5000. Probably it is responsible, beside iron deficiency anemia, for the cases of hyperostosis porotica from this area where the abnormal hemoglobins (SS and TT) rarely occurred.

The differential diagnosis among these etiologies constitutes a delicate problem, but while based only on morphologic data it remains uncertain ³⁷.

If for the aborigines from the New World where the abnormal hemoglobins (and malaria) are Post-Columbian ³⁸, porotic hyperostosis can be assigned only to the anemias with iron deficiency, the only problem being the establishment of their specific etiology ³⁹, for the Old World,

³³ The first to observe that the high frequencies of sickle cell anemia are found in zones with *Falciparum malaria* was A. C. Allison: Aspect of polymorphism in Man, *Cold Spring Harbor Symposium Quant. Biol.*, **20**, 1955, p. 293. See also, H. Lehmann: The Maintenance of the Hemoglobinopathies at High Frequency, in: J. H. P. Jonxis, J. F. Delafresnaye (eds.), *Abnormal Hemoglobins*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1959, pp. 307—21; A. C. Metulsky: Metabolic Polymorphism and the Role of Infectious Diseases in Human Evolution, *Hum. Biol.*, **32**, 1960, p. 28.

³⁴ W. E. Bodmer, L. L. Cavallisforza: *Genetica Evoluzione, Uomo*, Ed. Scient. Mondadori, 1977.

³⁵ J. Bernard, J. Ruffié: *Hématologie géographique. Écologie humaine, Caractères héréditaire du sang*, Masson et Cie, Paris, 1966; F. B. Livingstone: *Abnormal Hemoglobins in Human Populations*, Aldine, Chicago, 1967.

³⁶ E. Silvestroni, I. Bianco, N. Alfieri: Sulle origini della micocitemia in Italia e nelle altre regioni della terra, *Medicina*, **2**, 1952, p. 187.

³⁷ J. E. Moseley, *op. cit.* note 15; R. T. Steinbock: *Paleopathological diagnosis and interpretation*, Charles C. Thomas, Springfield, Illinois, 1976.

³⁸ M. Y. El Najjar, J. Ryan, C. G. Turner II, B. Lozoff: The etiology of porotic hyperostosis among the prehistoric and historic Anasazi Indians of Southwest United States, *Am. J. Phys. Anthropol.*, **44**, 1976, pp. 477—88.

³⁹ See, D. C. Hodges, *op. cit.*, note 31, with the problem's bibliography, to which we can add, J. S. Cybulski: Cribra orbitalis, a possible sign of anemia in early historic native populations of the British Columbia Coast, *Am. J. Phys. Anthropol.*, **47**, 1977, pp. 31—40; N. W. Von Endt, D. J. Ortner: Aminoacid analysis of bone from a possible case of prehistoric iron deficiency from the American Southwest, *Am. J. Phys. Anthropol.*, **59**, 1982, pp. 377—85.

where all these causes coexist, the problem is more complicated ⁴⁰ and requires complex researches ⁴¹.

For the population living in the first half of the IIIrd century A. D. in Poienеști, situated in an area of low hills separated by large valleys and watersides easily flooded and swampy, which was till the recent times a zone of endemic malaria, both categories of causes (iron deficiency and congenital hemolytic anemias) can be formally retained.

Yet, even if we do not have real data on nourishment, as the necropolis is placed in the phase of highest cultural development it is hard to suppose that these populations which practiced agriculture and animal breeding, could suffer from multiple and chronic alimentary deficiencies.

We have also to specify that the analysis of the graves structures and the rich funeral furnitures in connection with the sex and age of the dead do not reveal any differences which can point out the existence of some strata socially and economically disadvantaged in this population.

In this stage of the researches these considerations summarily exposed here make us assign the cases of porotic hyperostosis from Poienеști to the hemolytic congenital anemias, a hypothesis which we hope to prove in our future researches ⁴².

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Center of Anthropological Researches
Bucharest

⁴⁰ In most of the researches, the porotic hyperostosis found in the prehistoric populations from the Mediterranean basin is assigned to the congenital hemolytic anemia and especially to thalassemia. See, J. L. Angel: Osteoporosis: Thalassemia?, *Am. J. Phys. Anthropol.* **22**, 1964, pp. 369—71; Idem: Porotic hyperostosis, anemias, malaras, and marshes in Prehistoric Eastern Mediterranean, *Science*, **153**, 1966, pp. 760—63; Idem, *op. cit.* note 14; Idem; New measure of growth efficiency; Skull base height. *Am. J. Phys. Anthropol.*, **58**, 1982, pp. 297—305; G. and S. Arnaud: Luxation congénitale bilatérale de la hanche et manifestations d'hyperostose porotique sur un squelette d'époque paléo-chrétienne, *Bull. et Mem. de la Soc. d'Anthropol. de Paris*, ser. XIII, **2**, 1975, 4, pp. 307—25; A. Ascenzi P. Balistreri: Porotic hyperostosis and the problem of origin of thalassemia in Italy, *J. Hum. Evol.*, **6**, 1977, pp. 595—604; A. Ascenzi: Thalassémie et lésions osseuses. Avec discussion d'exemplaires paléopathologiques italiens, in: P. Morel, R. Perrot, P. Coeur (eds.), *Actes du Premier Colloque Français de Paléopathologie*, Lyon, 2/2, 1975; Idem, *op. cit.* note 14; G. Fornaciari, F. Mallegni: Iperostosi porotica verosimilmente talassemica in due scheletri rinvenuti in uno grupo di tombe del III secolo A. C. di San Giovenale (Viterbo) *Quaderni Sc. Antropologiche*, **4**, 1980 pp. 21—50; G. Brauer, R. Frieke: Zur Phänomenologie osteoporotischer Veränderungen. Pläopathologische Analyse eines skelettes der geometrischen Periode (900—700 v.z.) aus Tiryns (Peloponnes), *Homo*, **31**, 1980, 3—4, pp. 198—211. For Central and Northern Europe, a few of the published cases are assigned to iron deficiency anemia. See, H. Grimm: Die bronzezeitlichen Menschenreste von Zauschwitz, Kr. Borna, A.F.D., *Beiheft 16 Beiträge zur Ur-und Frühgeschichte I*, Berlin, 1981, pp. 349—462; I. Köhl: Skelettreste aus prähistorischen Brandbestattungen und ihre Ausemöglichkeiten, mit Hinweisen auf spezielle Fragenstellungen in Schleswig-Holstein, *Mitt. der Anthropol. Ges. in Wien*, **115**, 1985, pp. 113—37.

⁴¹ Paleonutritional studies of some trace elements (Sr, Zn) in the bones by Atomic Absorption Spectroscopy confirmed the iron deficiency anemia (G. Fornaciari, F. Mallegni, V. Bertini, E. Nutti: Cribra orbitalia and elemental bone iron in the Punic, of Carthage, *OSSA (Lund)*, **8**, 1981, pp. 63—7), or the existence of the congenital hemolytic anemia (G. Fornaciari, M. G. Mezzetti, C. Cuni, *op. cit.* note 25). See also, M. K. Sandford, D. P. Van Gerven, R. R. Meglen: Elemental hair analysis: New evidence on the etiology of cribra orbitalia in Sudanese Nubia, *Hum. Biol.*, **55**, 1983, 4, pp. 831—44.

⁴² The situation at Poienеști is not singular within the ancient populations of Romania because we also recorded a series of cases with porotic hyperostosis chronologically disposed from the early Neolithic (Cris culture) to the feudal epoch. The only case published by now is, N. Mirițoiu: Anexa, in: I. Mitrea, Un complex funerar descoperit in necropola carpică de la Dămieniști, jud. Bacău, *SCIVA*, **39**, 1988, 4, pp. 369—80.

STRATIFICATION SOCIALE REFLÉTÉE DANS LA CROISSANCE ET LA PUBERTÉ DES FILLES

MARIA CRISTESCU, MARIA ISTRATE, GEORGETA MIU, CEZARINA BĂLTEANU

Il est bien connu que chaque caractère biologique se comporte comme une variable inter- ou intrapopulationnelle à déterminisme complexe qui peut être réduit à deux sources principales : l'hérédité et les conditions d'existence ». Chez l'homme, le milieu social devenant une source essentielle de la variation, beaucoup d'auteurs se sont occupés de la stratification sociale de certains caractères biologiques : anthropométriques, physiologiques et mentaux.

En ce qui concerne la stature, des différences entre les catégories sociales ont été constatées chez l'adulte. Notons, par exemple, qu'en France, entre les moyennes staturales des cadres supérieurs et des ouvriers adultes il y avait en 1959 une différence d'environ 4 cm chez les hommes et de 3 cm chez les femmes (2). En Roumanie, O. Necrasov et collab., en 1970, en étudiant la variabilité de la capacité vitale en fonction de la profession, trouvent chez les hommes une différence de 2 cm entre les fonctionnaires et les ouvriers ; chez les femmes, la différence est d'environ 1,5 cm entre les fonctionnaires et les ouvrières du textile (6). En 1985 E. Radu, étudiant comparativement deux échantillons de femmes, obtient une taille moyenne de 161,3 cm et, respectivement de 158,50. Les données inédites obtenues par le Collectif d'Anthropologie de Iassy indique des différences de 2—3 cm entre des jeunes filles (19—20 ans) étudiantes et les ouvrières (travail réalisé par contrat avec le Ministère de l'Enseignement).

C'est pourquoi nous nous sommes proposé d'étudier à quel moment ontogénétique s'installent les différences bio-sociales de la stature et comment varient leur ampleur avec l'âge.

MATÉRIEL ET MÉTHODES

Le matériel d'étude fut réuni au cours des enquêtes effectuées entre 1985 et 1991. Il est constitué de 1690 sujets entre 10 et 16 ans, originaires de la ville de Iassy. Nous nous rapportons aussi au matériel récolté en 1984 concernant les nouveau-nés (203 sujets) (1).

Notre matériel a été divisé, selon la profession des parents, en trois groupes : intellectuels (I), fonctionnaires sans études supérieures (II) et ouvriers (III).

Dans cet article nous nous limitons à l'analyse de la variabilité de la stature en fonction du milieu social et de l'âge de la puberté.

RÉSULTATS OBTENUS

Dans le tableau 1 sont inscrites les valeurs moyennes de la stature pour chaque classe d'âge étudiée séparément en fonction de la profession des parents.

Tableau 1

Moyennes de la stature chez chaque classe d'âge en fonction de la stratification sociale

Âge	I Intellectuels	II Fonctionnaires	III Ouvriers
	M	M	M
10	143,30	141,94	139,34
11	148,60	146,38	144,73
12	157,01	152,18	149,35
13	159,53	158,08	156,64
14	161,24	160,22	159,57
15	161,95	160,47	160,32
16	162,00	162,00	160,00

On constate que les enfants dont les parents sont des intellectuels offrent à partir de la première classe d'âge étudiée (10 ans), une stature moyenne plus élevée que le groupe avec des parents fonctionnaires sans études supérieures et encore plus haute en comparaison avec le groupe des filles des ouvriers.

Les différences en valeurs absolues et relatives (tableau 2) entre les trois groupes augmentent progressivement avec l'âge et atteignent la plus grande valeur à 12 ans, entre le premier groupe et le second et à 13 ans entre le deuxième et le troisième.

Tableau 2

Différences absolues (A) et relatives (R) entre les trois groupes

Âge	I - II		II - III		I - III	
	I - II		II - III		I - III	
	I	I	II	II	I	I
	D.A. cm	D.R. %	D.A. cm	D.R. %	D.R. cm	D.R. %
10	1,36	0,94	2,60	1,86	4,00	2,79
11	2,22	1,49	1,65	1,12	3,87	2,60
12	4,83	3,07	2,83	1,85	7,66	4,87
13	1,33	0,83	4,35	2,75	5,68	3,56
14	1,02	0,63	0,65	0,40	1,67	1,03
15	1,48	0,91	0,15	0,09	1,63	1,00
16	0	0	2,00	1,23	2,00	1,23

À la classe d'âge de 14 ans, les différences s'atténuent et tendent ensuite à s'effacer. À 16 ans, chez le groupe des filles des ouvriers, la moyenne de la stature est 2 cm plus basse que chez les deux autres groupes.

Le modèle de la poussée prépubérale de la stature varie en fonction de l'origine sociale des filles.

En effet, chez les filles aux parents intellectuels, la poussée s'installe dans le même intervalle que chez les filles des fonctionnaires, c'est-à-dire entre 11 et 12 ans, mais l'intensité de la poussée est plus grande chez les premières (8,40 cm par rapport à 5,80 cm) et, en même temps, elle se prolonge encore dans l'intervalle qui suit (12—13 ans) avec une même intensité (5,90 cm). On peut parler donc d'une poussée en forme de plateau. Chez les filles des ouvriers, la poussée se situe plus tard que chez les deux autres groupes (de 12 à 13 ans); mais elle est plus énergique que chez les filles des fonctionnaires (7,29 cm) et prend fin après celle-ci, la vitesse de croissance diminuant à 2 cm dans l'intervalle de 13 à 14 ans.

La variabilité de la poussée s'explique par la variabilité de l'âge de la puberté.

En calculant les pourcentages des filles pubères dans chaque classe d'âge et pour chaque groupe (tableau 3), on constate que la stratification sociale se reflète bien dans l'âge de la maturité sexuelle. Ce phénomène est plus marqué chez la classe de 12 ans où, entre le premier groupe et le

Tableau 3

Les pourcentages des pubères chez chaque classe d'âge en fonction de la profession des parents

Âge	Intellectuels			Fonctionnaires			Ouvriers		
	N	N	%	N	N	%	N	N	%
	total pubères			total pubères			total pubères		
10	70	2	2,85	47	1	2,12	—	—	—
11	100	9	9,00	85	6	7,05	77	5	6,49
12	99	50	50,50	45	14	31,11	52	9	17,30
13	86	69	80,23	85	64	75,29	59	43	72,88
14	108	106	98,14	63	59	93,65	58	53	91,37
15	159	158	99,37	96	93	96,87	74	73	98,64
16	96	96	100,00	53	53	100,00	33	33	100,00

second la différence est d'environ 20% et entre le premier et le troisième de 33%. À partir de l'âge de 13 ans, les différences diminuent progressivement.

Il résulte par conséquent que l'amplification des différences sociales staturales à 12 ans est le résultat de la variabilité de l'âge d'installation de la poussée prépubérale de la stature qui est en corrélation à son tour avec l'âge de la puberté.

L'action directe du milieu sur les rythmes de la croissance et de la maturité sexuelle durant la période ontogénétique étudiée par nous est ainsi bien illustrée. Le problème qui se pose est de savoir quand commence cette différenciation, étant donné qu'à la naissance nous n'avons pas constaté de différences à ce point de vue (tableau 4).

Tableau 4

Longueur des nouveau-nés séparés en fonction de la profession de la mère

Occupation	M(cm.)
sans occupation	49,93
ouvrières	50,00
fonctionnaires	50,05
intellectuels	50,35
total	50,04

CONCLUSIONS

Les variations biologiques liées au milieu social ne se manifestent qu'après la naissance, les nouveau-nés présentant, en moyenne, pratiquement la même longueur indépendamment de la profession de leurs mères.

Cette constatation suggère que les conditions de vie de la mère à l'étape actuelle de développement de la société ne se répercutent guère sur la croissance de l'embryon et du fœtus. D'ailleurs, nous avons constaté que la différenciation urbaine-rurale a lieu à partir de l'âge d'un an (1 cm) et atteint approx. 5 cm à 6 ans. Il paraît donc vraisemblable que la différenciation sociale dans le milieu urbain ait lieu d'une manière similaire étant donné qu'à 10 ans nous constatons une différence staturale entre deux groupes contrastants (I et III) d'environ 4 cm.

D'autre part, on doit souligner qu'en 1965 les différences urbaines-rurales restaient aussi de 5 cm durant la période péripubérale, tandis qu'en 1985, à l'âge de 11 et 12 ans, elles deviennent d'approx. 7 cm, la même valeur donc que nous avons rencontrée à 12 ans entre les filles des intellectuels et celles des ouvriers.

On peut donc conclure que la différenciation rencontrée entre les enfants du milieu urbain et du milieu rural a une évolution historique qui pourrait être déterminée par un complexe de facteurs comme : la composition sociale des villes et des villages, le niveau économique atteint à un moment donné dans chaque milieu et encore d'autres facteurs à identifier et qui se reflètent dans la dynamique du processus d'accélération d'une manière variable. La stratification sociale dans chaque milieu, et, spécialement dans le milieu urbain, représente un phénomène encore plus mobile et le niveau de vie de chaque catégorie peut varier d'un moment historique à l'autre.

Il s'ensuit que l'accélération de la croissance et du développement des enfants se déroule dans le temps avec des taux variables d'une catégorie sociale à l'autre et d'un milieu à l'autre.

En ce qui concerne les facteurs qui déterminent la différenciation biologique des catégories sociales, nous considérons que les données obtenues chez les enfants nous permettent d'affirmer que le niveau de vie représente l'un de plus importants facteurs discriminants.

A notre avis, c'est la période de croissance qui doit être bien étudiée pour expliquer les différences constatées pour la stature chez les adultes des diverses catégories sociales.

L'hypothèse génétique (9) dans l'explication de ces différences, tout comme celle de l'*heterosis* ou de la sélection sont difficiles à admettre vu que la différenciation commence dès l'enfance et s'accroît au moment de la poussée prépubérale qui se déroule plus énergiquement corrélativement à l'âge de la puberté qui, nous l'avons vu, est plus précoce chez les catégories sociales avantagées.

Les différences sociales de la stature chez les adultes sont donc en principal la conséquence de la variabilité des rythmes de la croissance qui se répercutent sur les dimensions des adultes.

En somme, l'accélération consiste non seulement dans une croissance plus rapide mais aussi plus intense, fait qui permet la réalisation du potentiel héréditaire entier dans des conditions favorables.

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Centre de recherches anthropologiques
Section de Iași

VARIABILITÉ DE LA LIPIDÉMIE ET DE LA CHOLESTÉROLÉMIE DANS TROIS LOCALITÉS D'UNE ZONE SOUS-MONTAGNEUSE (DÉP. NEAMȚ)

MARIA ISTRATE

Il est bien connu que les déséquilibres du métabolisme lipidique constituent le risque majeur pour le profil de la morbidité générale dans les pays développés.

Étant donné que la concentration des lipides et du cholestérol sérique représente le « marker » pour l'identification précoce de l'athérosclérose et que ces métabolites varient en fonction des conditions écologiques (y compris l'alimentation) nous nous sommes proposé de les étudier dans une zone sous-montagneuse en comparaison avec d'autres zones géographiques.

MATÉRIEL ET MÉTHODES

Le matériel d'étude, récolté en 1982—1983 est constitué de 743 sujets (306 hommes et 437 femmes) originaires de trois localités du département de Neamț : Bistrița, Vinători et Nemțișor. Les lipides ont été dosés selon la méthode Chabrol-Charonnat et le cholestérol selon la méthode Huang-Etienne-Etienne modifiée.

L'analyse statistique a été faite en fonction de l'âge et du sexe pour chaque localité ainsi que pour la zone entière (séries synthétiques).

RÉSULTATS OBTENUS

La lecture du tableau 1 nous permet de conclure que toutes les trois populations s'inscrivent en moyenne dans les limites classiques de la normalité.

Les valeurs les plus basses du cholestérol et des lipides totaux furent rencontrées à Bistrița en rapport des séries synthétiques, les différences étant en moyenne significatives au point de vue statistique pour la lipidémie ($T = 4,77$ chez les hommes et $T = 2,40$ chez les femmes) et seulement chez les hommes pour le cholestérol ($T = 6,00$). Les deux autres localités offrent des valeurs moyennes des lipides et du cholestérol supérieures en rapport des séries synthétiques, mais chez les hommes c'est à Vinători que sont rencontrées les valeurs les plus hautes ($T = 4,62$ pour la lipidémie et $T = 6,00$ pour la cholestérolémie) tandis que chez les femmes, au contraire, à Nemțișor ($T = 4,11$ pour la lipidémie et $T = 5,00$ pour la cholestérolémie).

Tableau 1

Les moyennes et les déviations standard des lipides totaux et du cholestérol chez la population du dép. Neamț

Etape d'âge	Bistrița			Vinători			Nemțișor			Total		
	N	M	σ	N	M	σ	N	M	σ	N	M	σ
<i>Lipides totaux</i>												
<i>Hommes</i>												
20-39	26	5,62	1,18	24	6,40	1,03	16	5,63	0,83	66	5,91	1,12
40-59	65	6,18	1,36	60	6,90	1,32	43	6,93	1,25	168	6,63	1,37
60-x	37	5,63	1,36	24	6,53	0,99	10	6,60	1,30	71	6,07	1,32
20-49	48	5,83	1,28	51	6,81	1,48	32	6,45	1,33	131	6,33	1,44
50-x	80	5,95	1,39	57	6,61	0,90	37	6,82	1,21	174	6,36	1,26
20-x	128	5,91	1,35	108	6,71	1,21	69	6,58	1,29	305	6,34	1,34
<i>Femmes</i>												
20-39	48	5,56	1,22	41	6,12	1,04	20	6,65	1,47	109	5,97	1,28
40-59	124	6,59	1,79	75	6,79	1,25	55	7,03	1,16	254	6,74	1,53
60-x	46	5,69	1,63	20	7,18	1,34	6	6,75	1,15	72	6,77	1,54
20-49	109	6,07	1,51	85	6,41	1,16	44	6,71	1,30	238	6,31	1,38
50-x	109	6,65	1,82	51	7,02	1,31	37	7,16	1,16	197	6,84	1,61
20-x	218	6,36	1,70	136	6,64	1,26	81	6,92	1,26	435	6,55	1,51
<i>Cholestérol</i>												
<i>Hommes</i>												
20-39	26	1,86	0,35	24	2,14	0,32	16	1,90	0,27	66	1,97	0,34
40-59	66	2,06	0,41	60	2,27	0,49	43	2,23	0,36	169	1,92	0,44
60-x	37	1,88	0,42	24	2,12	0,29	10	2,17	0,47	71	2,01	0,41
20-49	49	1,97	0,41	51	2,26	0,49	32	2,07	0,41	132	2,10	0,46
50-x	80	1,98	0,42	57	2,16	0,35	37	2,21	0,35	174	2,08	0,40
20-x	129	1,97	0,41	108	2,21	0,43	69	2,15	0,39	306	2,09	0,43
<i>Femmes</i>												
20-39	48	1,86	0,37	41	1,97	1,33	20	2,16	0,49	109	1,96	0,40
40-59	126	2,16	0,55	75	2,20	0,40	55	2,25	0,36	256	2,19	0,47
60-x	46	2,14	0,50	20	2,31	0,32	6	2,28	0,40	72	2,20	0,45
20-49	109	2,02	0,46	85	2,07	0,36	44	2,15	0,41	237	2,04	0,42
50-x	111	2,17	0,56	51	2,28	0,41	37	2,32	0,37	199	2,22	0,50
20-x	220	2,09	0,52	136	2,15	0,39	81	2,23	0,40	437	2,13	0,46

L'analyse de la variabilité individuelle au niveau de chaque population ainsi qu'au niveau des séries synthétiques offre la possibilité de déterminer les limites de normalité spécifique pour notre région et de dépister les valeurs pathologiques ou situées dans les zones de risque athérogène.

En effet, nous avons calculé les limites de la normalité de la lipidémie et de la cholestérolémie par la méthode des percentiles (10^e et 90^e) et en fonction des valeurs sigmatiques (en dehors de $M \pm 2\sigma$) considérés pathologiques et entre $M + 1$ à $M + 2$ avec risque athérogène) qui sont inscrites dans le tableau 2.

Tableau 2

Les limites de normalité calculés par la méthode des percentiles (10^e et 90^e) et en fonction des valeurs sigmatiques ($M \pm 2\sigma$)

Étape d'âge	Hommes				Femmes			
	perc. 10	perc. 90	$M - 2\sigma$	$M + 2\sigma$	perc. 10	perc. 90	$M - 2\sigma$	$M + 2\sigma$
<i>Lipides totaux</i>								
20—49	4,60	7,94	3,45	9,21	4,64	8,14	3,55	9,07
50—x	4,52	7,84	3,84	8,88	4,75	8,76	3,62	10,06
<i>Cholestérol</i>								
20—49	1,53	2,50	1,18	3,02	1,54	2,51	1,20	2,88
50—x	1,52	2,52	1,28	2,88	1,54	2,87	1,22	3,22

Il faut signaler que les valeurs de la normalité trouvées en utilisant la deuxième méthode sont plus élevées que dans le cas de la première méthode.

Les fréquences des sujets pathologiques selon ces deux indicateurs biochimiques ou avec risque athérogène sont inscrites dans le tableau 3. Les séries synthétiques offrent une fréquence des sujets avec risque athé-

Tableau 3

La fréquence des sujet avec risque athérogène et avec valeurs pathologiques

	Hommes				Femmes			
	Lipides				Lipides		Cholestérol	
	20—49	50—x	20—49	50—x	20—49	50—x	20—49	50—x

Les sujet avec risque athérogène %

Bistrița	4,16	3,00	4,08	7,50	9,17	6,42	11,00	11,71
Vinători	15,68	5,26	19,60	8,77	12,94	9,80	14,11	13,72
Nemțșor	9,37	18,92	9,37	10,81	15,90	8,10	11,36	13,51
Total	9,92	8,04	11,36	8,62	11,76	7,61	12,18	12,56

Les sujets avec valeurs pathologiques (%)

Bistrița	—	3,75	—	2,50	4,58	7,33	4,58	5,40
Vinători	5,88	5,26	5,88	7,01	1,17	1,96	1,17	1,96
Nemțșor	3,12	5,40	3,12	10,81	6,82	2,70	6,81	2,70
Total	3,05	4,59	3,03	5,74	3,78	5,07	3,73	4,02

rogène attestée par la lipidémie ainsi que par la cholestérolémie plus élevée chez les femmes que chez les hommes.

En ce qui concerne la fréquence des sujets avec des valeurs pathologiques, les différences entre les sexes sont moins marquées et atteignent un pourcentage un peu plus grand parmi les femmes pour la lipidémie seulement, tandis que pour la cholestérolémie, au contraire, les hommes dépassent faiblement les femmes.

Les différences interpopulationnelles varient d'une manière différente chez les deux sexes. En effet, chez les séries masculines, la plus haute fréquence des valeurs pathologiques de la lipidémie a été rencontrée à Vinători (11,14 %) et la plus basse à Bistrița (3,75 %), mais la plus grande fréquence d'hypercholestérolémie est atteinte à Nemțișor (13,93 %) et la plus réduite à Bistrița (2,50 %).

Chez les séries féminines, c'est à Bistrița où nous avons trouvé de hauts pourcentages de dyslipidémie ainsi que d'hypercholestérolémie (11,91 % pour la lipidémie et 9,98 % pour cholestérolémie) et les plus bas à Vinători (3,13 % pour des deux indicateurs).

La variabilité interpopulationnelle, au point de vue du risque athérogène, nous fait constater à Bistrița les plus réduits pourcentages non seulement chez les hommes mais aussi chez les femmes, où nous avons rencontré, au contraire, la plus grande fréquence de dyslipidémie et d'hypercholestérolémie. Chez les deux autres populations, les deux sexes occupent la même position au point de vue de la lipidémie. Vinători se situant après Nemțișor pour la cholestérolémie, la hiérarchie est autre, mais la même pour les deux sexes : Vinători, Nemțișor et Bistrița.

En ce qui concerne la variabilité selon l'âge, on peut souligner une différence sexuelle importante : les valeurs moyennes de la lipidémie et de la cholestérolémie augmentent progressivement avec l'âge jusqu'à 50 ans, chez les hommes, diminuent ensuite, tandis que chez les femmes, ce phénomène continue jusqu'à 60 ans et reste pratiquement constant jusqu'à 80 ans. C'est pourquoi nous avons calculé les coefficients de corrélation entre l'âge et chacun de ces deux indicateurs biochimiques en découpant le matériel en deux échantillons : chez les hommes entre 20—50 ans et entre 50—80 ans et chez les femmes entre 20—80 ans (tableau 4).

En effet, chez la série synthétique masculine de 20—50 ans, les valeurs de « r » sont positives et significatives tant pour la lipidémie, que pour la cholestérolémie. Après 50 ans, les valeurs des coefficients de corrélation deviennent négatives, mais plus faibles que les précédentes.

Chez les femmes, les mêmes coefficients calculés pour tous les âges présentent une valeur positive, mais moindre que chez les hommes, calculé entre 20—50 ans.

L'intensité des modifications avec l'âge présente une variabilité interpopulationnelle assez importante : chez les hommes, pour les lipides, entre + 0,1836 (Bistrița) et + 0,4854 (Nemțișor) et pour le cholestérol entre + 0,1801 (Bistrița) + 0,4820 (Nemțișor); chez les femmes, l'amplitude de la variation entre les villages est moins marquée : pour la lipidémie, entre + 0,1858 (Nemțișor) et + 0,3176 (Vinători) et pour la cholestérolémie entre + 0,2198 (Bistrița) + 0,3474 (Vinători).

Tableau 4

Coefficients de corrélation et de régression lipides totaux—âge et cholestérol—âge

Étape d'âge	Bistrița		Vinători		Nemțișor		Total	
	r	R	r	R	r	R	r	R
<i>Lipides totaux</i>								
<i>Hommes</i>								
20—49	+0,1836	+0,0282	+0,2622	+0,0729	+0,4854	+0,0765	+0,3551	+0,0638
50—x	—0,2524	—0,0437	—0,1066	—0,0813	—0,0148	—0,1734	—0,1734	—0,0322
20—x	—0,0058	—0,0005	+0,0414	+0,0040	+0,2706	+0,0289	+0,0534	+0,0055
<i>Femmes</i>								
20—x	+0,2327	+0,0302	+0,3176	+0,0326	+0,1858	+0,0202	+0,2196	+0,0261
<i>Cholestérol</i>								
<i>Hommes</i>								
20—49	+0,1801	+0,0095	+0,3446	+0,0242	+0,4820	+0,0253	+0,3456	+0,0221
50—x	—0,1543	—0,0087	—0,0153	—0,0007	—0,0556	—0,0039	—0,1644	—0,0105
20—x	+0,0632	+0,0020	+0,0014	+0,0004	+0,2456	+0,0094	+0,0527	+0,0019
<i>Femmes</i>								
20—x	+0,2198	+0,0094	+0,3474	+0,0132	+0,2297	+0,0091	+0,2245	+0,0092

On peut encore souligner que les valeurs moyennes de la lipidémie et de la cholestérolémie à l'étape d'âge 20—49 ans il n'y a pas de différences entre les deux sexes, seul l'âge étant le facteur discriminant.

DISCUSSIONS ET CONCLUSIONS

Les valeurs moyennes de la lipidémie et de la cholestérolémie chez toutes les trois populations du département de Neamț] correspondent aux limites de la normalité.

La population du village Bistrița offre les plus basses valeurs par rapport aux deux autres populations étudiées.

A l'étape 20—49 ans, la lipidémie et la cholestérolémie ne présentent pas, en moyenne, de différences sexuelles. En échange, la modification avec l'âge imprime des particularités dimorphiques : chez les hommes, les valeurs des deux indicateurs biochimiques augmentent plus intensément que chez les femmes jusqu'à 50 ans mais, après cet âge, elles commencent à diminuer chez les premières, tandis que chez les secondes elles continuent à augmenter faiblement jusqu'à 60 ans, demeurant constantes ensuite. Ce phénomène est bien illustré par les coefficients des corrélations.

Il faut souligner que la fréquence du risque athérogène est accrue chez les femmes par rapport aux hommes, mais la fréquence des valeurs pathologiques est supérieure chez les derniers au point de vue de la cholestérolémie mais non de la lipidémie.

On peut conclure que les hommes présentent une tendance vers l'hypercholestérolémie, tandis que les femmes restent plus longtemps dans les limites du risque sans atteindre la même fréquence des valeurs pathologiques. Ces particularités liées au dimorphisme sexuel s'expliquent, de l'avis de Boyd, Oliver et Lindholm, par l'influence hormonale.

En comparaison avec les séries synthétiques étudiées par nous en Moldavie (8), la population du département de Neamț présente une cholestérolémie et spécialement une lipidémie, en moyenne, plus basses. En échanges, le rapport cholestérol-lipides est plus grand que chez d'autres populations de Moldavie. Ce phénomène peut être expliqué par l'influence de l'urbanisation, étant donné que la majorité des sujets travaillent dans l'industrie du voisinage.

En ce qui concerne les résultats obtenus par d'autres auteurs, nous pouvons préciser qu'ils portent surtout sur le cholestérol et non pas sur les lipides. En effet, notons que seulement à Văgiulești (Olténie), Maria Dumitru-Tibera trouve des valeurs du cholestérol supérieures en comparaison avec toutes nos séries, excepté la série masculine de Vinători; toutes les autres populations étudiées par le même auteur en Olténie et dans la région de Hunedoara présentent des valeurs inférieures (11,13).

En échange, les résultats obtenus par Tatiana Drăghicescu chez trois populations de la région de Brașov indiquent, en général, que la cholestérolémie est chez nous inférieure à celle de Brașov, seule la série masculine de Vinători étant pratiquement égale avec la série de Șimon et, aussi, la série féminine de Nemțișor avec la série de Fundata (4, 5, 6).

En ce qui se concerne les limites supérieures de la normalité établies par nous par la méthode des percentiles 90, nos valeurs sont plus grandes en comparaison avec les données de M. Cucuianu obtenues chez la population du département de Cluj (3). En utilisant la méthode sigma-tique, au contraire, les limites établies par nous sont inférieures aux données de Simona Beroniade pour l'Olténie et la région de Hunedoara (1).

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Centre de recherches anthropologiques
Section de Iași

ON THE "TENET" OF NATURAL BEAUTY IN ROMANIANS AS IT OCCURS BOTH IN FOLK CREATIONS AND IN ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCHES

ELEONORA LUCA *, GABRIELA DRINOVAN *, ȘTEFANA LUCA**

Between 1989 and 1991 we entered upon a synthetic work on the Romanian researches in Romanian populations regarding the variability of certain polyfactorial determined characteristic features (anthropometric, morphologic, pigment) aiming at getting certain country global and provincial "standard-patterns" with clinical, medico-legal and socio-cultural emphasis (3,4).

As the research came to its end, it was interesting to see the average values of the anthropometric characteristic features and of the pigment and morphological characters percentual distribution in Romanians living within the present territory of Romania: the results of the anthropological research have been "validated" by "patterns" of masculine and/or feminine natural beauty as they are described in folklore epic and lyric creations.

As far as Romanian anthropology enhances an integrative outlook on man's sciences (6), we thought a demonstration of this "validation" to be interesting.

MATERIAL AND METHODS

According to data published between 1964 and 1990 by Bucharest and Jassy anthropologists in "Studii și cercetări antropologice" and in "Annuaire Roumain d'Anthropologie" (5, 11, 12), in over 20000 male and 16000 female adult subjects, thorough average values and deviations have been computed for anthropometric characteristic features. The average percentual distribution on categories of variability for morphologic and pigment characters has been computed on the base of the universal variability scales used by classical anthropology (tables 1, 2, 3).

Table 1

Country average values of height

Sex	Nr.	$\bar{X} \pm m$	σ	C.V.
M	24073	169.39 ± 0.04	± 6.20	3.66
F	16681	157.71 ± 0.05	± 6.59	4.18

Table 2

Relative variability of certain country pigment characteristic features

Characteristic features	Sex	Nr. of samples	Percentual distribution on categories of variation			
Colour of hair	M	57	<i>blond</i>	<i>chestnut</i>	<i>dark brown</i>	<i>reddish</i>
	F	43	3.29	13.57	82.82	0.29
			3.48	17.41	78.77	0.28
Colour of iris	M	62	<i>light</i>	<i>intermediary</i>	<i>dark</i>	
	F	46	17.02	53.90	29.05	
			15.01	51.51	33.50	

Table 3

Relative variability of the pigment complexion

Colour of iris	Colour of hair			
	<i>blond</i>	<i>chestnut</i>	<i>dark brown</i>	<i>reddish</i>
light	2.01	4.48	11.18	0.12
intermediary	3.00	7.65	31.22	0.26
dark	1.29	7.63	31.09	—

For the present paper reference materials from folk literature as lyric songs, epic ballads, nuptial poems, fairy tales, etc., have been used. (2, 10).

RESULTS AND CONCLUSION

It is known that the artistic folk phenomena are deeply tied to the ethnocultural community wherein they appear and develop and therefore to the community mentality as an ethnobiologically conditioned agent containing a vast amount of information. As regards folk lyric and epic creations, natural beauty is very carefully looked upon because it must suit the "pattern" the community already agreed with (9).

Outlining the masculine and/or feminine natural beauty "pattern" according to the characteristic features studied by us, there are some which are mentioned the most within folk literary creations, very significant for describing sex-appeal and implicitly the matrimonial assorting (8). These are : height, hair and iris pigment.

Taking therefore into consideration the data of our previous researches concerning the variability of these characteristic features in Romanian populations, comparing them to the description of Ileana Cosânzeana or of any sweetheart, of Făt-Frumos or of any beloved darling, we came to the conclusion that there is an almost identical superposition.

Thus, *the height* of both sexes, which according to Rainer or Vallois scales in our data about the average value in the country is middle to high (table 1), in folk poetry is :

"Not too small, not too tall,
With her chubby waist of all."

or

"Green leaf of a round good apple,
Tall is how I like my darling ..."

or

"Tall be he as tall am I
Just together we'll be fine ..."

The pigment of the hair, according to Fischer-Saller scale is mainly brown or dark-brown all over the distribution into the country (table 2), which is "confirmed" by folk poetry :

"Our handsome prince so young
In the morning waking up
Washed his milky face so fair
Combing dark loose-flowing hair ..."

or

"The black fairly silky hair
Dishevelled coming undone on her ..."

In Romanian populations the blond hair is rare yet is part of a certain natural beauty "pattern" ... in fairy tales :

"...That Charming Prince ... with golden hair, how handsome he was !"

As the researches show on Martin-Schultz scale *the iris* (table 2) is chiefly medium and dark-brown shaded :

"His eyes the dearest in the world
Like blackberry on the field ..."

or "Pretty darkish is her eye

You just love her and will die !"

Also, there is a quite high percentage of blue iris eyes which in folk literature are especially the attribute of fairy-tales characters while in Romanian populations they often are in pigment disharmony with the hair.

The *hair-iris association* (pigment complexion) (table 3) is in most cases dark shaded. There is a famous quatrain :

"His hair,
Raven-black, fair,
His eyes merry

Like blackberry ... " ("Miorița's ballad") (10)

Thus, the anonymous folk author, the best "connoisseur" of the Romanian type of people, "validates" over time the judgements on natural beauty as they have been settled by scientists.

Even Eminescu, the great Romanian poet, confirmed this "pattern", in one of his manuscripts :

"In fairy tales the young girls with beaming, bright eyes,
Sweet, dear appearance with darken plaited queues,
Long-haired charming princes in pretty shining clothes,
Tall, chestnut eyes and handsome as stately high beech trees
In my dreams they are coming and joined together are ... " *

* The English version of Eminescu's poem as well as of folk poetry fragments has been achieved by Gabriela Drinovici.

Not pretending to be original, our paper is a simple and pleasant bringing together of our researches on the one hand and folk creations on the other hand.

As for the usefulness of our approach, we believe in a possible researching way in cultural anthropology of these *natural beauty patterns* as they are described in Romanian folk poetry.

We can not conclude this short paper without noticing that the three elements — height, hair eyes — compressed in size and colour express, together with other human dimensions, the relationship between man and nature (1).

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* Center of Anthropological Researches
Bucharest
** “George Călinescu” High School
Constantza

ASPECTS OF THE MICROEVOLUTION OF THE CEPHALIC INDEX IN ROMANIAN POPULATIONS

MARIA VLĂDESCU

INTRODUCTION

The main goal of this research is to highlight the most important aspects concerning the microevolution of the cephalic index (c.i.) and its dimensions (g-op, eu-eu) evaluated in some populations from Romania. It targets mainly on contemporary communities, grouped on age limits, belonging to different generations. Only two very old settlements have been excepted: their records go back in time to feudalism.

It is no longer necessary to emphasize that the "secular trend phenomenon" with all its aspects is less disputed today and it concerns anthropologists from everywhere.

Sixteen male samples have been taken into consideration belonging to a wide geographical space from the great historical provinces, Transylvania, Moldova and Bucovina, or from their interference with Muntenia. Although they are located in depression submountain areas, the ecological niches and the anthropological types are not totally identical. The population of both sexes was investigated in 5 settlements, so that we have also data about women's brachycephalisation, problems seldom met even in the international specialized literature.

The first researches concerning the dynamics of the microevolution, in its taxonomic aspect, in our country, belong to O. Necrasov et al. (2), (4). The referential data were those of Drîguş, Fundu Moldovei and Nereju, between 1927 and 1932, authored, by Fr. Rainer and our data referring to Țara Dornelor and Ilișești, between 1940 and 1942 (10), (5).

Our researches were carried out between 1978 and 1987, relying on the following information: 1) the average scores of the population of both sexes from Nereju, from 1927, belonging to the same research paper of Fr. Rainer, previously mentioned (13); 2) the average scores of 4 male populations from Țara Vrancei (12), in the period 1956–1958, examined by O. Necrasov et al.; 3) unpublished primary data concerning male and female populations from 3 settlements of the Apuseni Mountains, collected by I. Făcăoaru, in 1939. We used the last ones with the author's agreement (11), (14). The settlements from Sinnicolau de Beiuș and Giulești were mainly studied by I. Popovici-Bădărău and M. Cristescu (1), (9). The idea of genetic continuity in the first place ever since the 17th century, is supported by archaeological arguments as well as by demographic and antroponymical ones. Yet from a bioanthropological point of view, the process of the secular rounding of the brain pan is equally visible and it is achieved by the same mechanism at Giulești too.

MATERIAL AND METHOD

In all the researches, both those reported in the text and our own, the classical anthropometrical Martin-Saller method was applied to make possible the comparisons. For the feudal populations the alive homologation was made only at Giulești.

The average age of the actual population for both stages is 20—45 years. The dimension of the samples varies from author to author and it is generally between 50 and 100 subjects.

The research has a pronounced endogamic aspect. This is proved by the exo-endogamic indices, calculated for the first half of our century, a period of time in which most of the individuals studied for the determination of the brachycephalisation were born. For many settlements the demographical closing by marriages oscillates between 80% and 96% (Sînicolau, Sălciua, Soveja, Negrilești, etc.) *. When no such data were available, the selection of the second generation was made in accordance with the genealogical criteria of the autochthonous genetic fund. Several populations intrinsically microevolved in time, without an exogamous genetic contribution, although we do not deny the role of such causes, particularly invoked by paleoanthropologists who studied the diachronic phenomena ever since the Neolithic.

The average scores, concerning the two stages from the ontogenesis of the populations and also the respective "t" Student test can be found in Tables 1—5.

Table

Anthropological characters											
County		Transilvania — Apuseni Mountains									
Community		Sălcuța					Posaga				
Authors		I. Făcăoaru — M. Vlădescu									
Characters	Years	1939		1984		Test	1939		1985		Test
		$\bar{X}$	σ	$\bar{X}$	σ		$\bar{X}$	σ	$\bar{X}$	σ	
EU—Eu/G—OP		86.2	4.07	88.0	3.88	4.42	86.9	3.51	86.9	3.28	=
G—OP		181.8	5.89	183.2	6.53	3.56	180.6	5.70	184.1	5.43	4.02
EU—EU		156.5	6.18	161.0	5.93	3.69	156.2	5.96	160.4	5.01	4.94

Table

County		MOLDOVA — VRANCEA											
Community		Nereju						Soveja					
Authors		Fr. Rainer			M. Vlădescu			O. Necrasov and collab. —			Tulnici		
Characters	Years	1927		1987		1956		1983		1956		1956	
		N	σ	N	σ	t	N	σ	N	σ	t	N	σ
EU—EU/G													
—OP		81.5	4.29	85.0	4.04	6.07	84.4	3.91	85.5	3.48	2.11	83.3	3.81
H—G—OP		185.7	7.40	184.5	6.66	1.27	185.5	6.83	188.1	6.63	2.74	184.7	5.73
EU—EU		151.1	5.80	156.6	5.43	7.45	156.3	6.08	160.7	5.49	5.37	152.6	5.40

* The demographical researches belong to I. Popovici-Bădărău and Gh. Geană.

As may be noticed the localities were grouped not only depending on the author but also on the historical-geographical frame. Their location is very well specified in those areas generically called by ethnoanthropologists "countries" or "regions" (Țara Vrancei, Țara Dornelor, Ținutul Munților Apuseni).

ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

1. ANTHROPOMETRICAL ASPECTS

From a dimensional point of view, the cephalic brain pan of the population from the recent generation is characterized by a combination of average scores for g-op and of high ones for eu-eu.

What characterizes the settlements, or the groups of settlements, is the exact position of the average in the mentioned classification. The quanta of the first dimension are ascendantly positioned from the centre of the category just beyond their superior limits (also incipient long brain pans): the quanta of the second dimension from the inferior limit toward the centre of the category (also obviously wide brain pans). This variability can be systematized in this way: 1) average long and wide brain pans in the men from the Apuseni Mountains (Poșaga, Sălciua, Sinnicolau)

1

by years — men

Ocoliş					Făgăraş County				
					Drăguş				
					Fr. Rainer — O. Necrasov				
					1932		1964		
1939		1987		Test	$\bar{X}$	σ	$\bar{X}$	σ	Test
$\bar{X}$	σ	$\bar{X}$	σ		$\bar{X}$	σ	$\bar{X}$	σ	
86.9	3.64	87.6	3.28	1.06	86.6	2.82	88.3	3.25	3.47
179.9	6.32	183.6	5.52	3.30	182.0	5.00	181.3	4.34	1.01
156.2	4.79	160.7	4.79	4.95	158.0	4.40	159.5	6.06	1.86

2

COUNTY

Negrilești

Bîrsești

M. Vlădescu

1984			1956			1985			1956			1986		
N	σ	t	N	σ		N	σ	t	N	σ		N	σ	t
85.5	3.18	4.06	83.5	3.72		85.0	3.64	2.70	81.9	5.00		85.0	2.92	4.92
183.9	5.19	0.86	183.7	5.70		184.5	5.60	0.96	185.2	6.10		184.4	5.91	0.41
156.8	5.10	5.32	153.2	5.10		156.4	3.90	4.61	151.7	4.80		157.5	4.59	7.44

Table 3

Anthropological characters by years-men

County			BUCOVINA														
Community			Dorna Arin			Șarul Dornei			Neagra Șarului			Ilisești			Fundu Moldovei		
Authors			O. Necrasov and collab.						Fr. Rainer — O. Necrasov								
Years			1940	1965		1940	1965		1940	1965		1942	1968		1928	1968	
			$\bar{X}$	$\bar{X}$	t	$\bar{X}$	$\bar{X}$	t	$\bar{X}$	$\bar{X}$	t	$\bar{X}$	$\bar{X}$	t	$\bar{X}$	$\bar{X}$	t
Characteres																	
EU—EU/G—OP			84.7	85.0	0.97	84.9	85.1	0.70	84.4	85.2	1.46	84.6	83.7	2.90	85.4	85.0	1.13
G—OP			185.9	187.9	3.58	186.2	187.6	2.48	186.5	187.7	1.64	186.7	187.7	1.64	184.3	187.6	5.59
EU—EU			157.4	159.8	4.57	158.0	159.5	3.12	158.2	159.6	2.62	158.0	157.4	1.37	156.7	159.5	4.66

Table 4

Anthropological characters by years — women

County Community Years Characteres	TRANSILVANIA									MOLDOVA			BU'COVINA		
	Sălcuia			Poșaga			Ocoliș			Nereju			Fundu Moldovei		
	1939	1984		1939	1986		1939	1987		1927	1987		1928	1968	
	$\bar{X}$	$\bar{X}$	t	$\bar{X}$	$\bar{X}$	t	$\bar{X}$	$\bar{X}$	t	$\bar{X}$	$\bar{X}$	t	$\bar{X}$	$\bar{X}$	t
EU—EU/G—OP	81.1	88.4	2.55	87.2	87.3	0.15	87.1	88.3	1.13	81.4	85.5	8.69	85.4	85.5	0.06
G—OP	173.8	175.7	1.83	172.9	175.9	2.70	171.9	175.5	2.26	178.8	176.5	2.76	175.2	177.7	4.76
EU—EU	151.3	155.2	5.20	150.7	153.2	2.63	149.5	154.8	4.02	145.3	150.8	8.38	150.6	151.9	3.02

(table 1); 2) incipiently long and broad brain pans in the men from Țara Dornelor (table 3); 3) brain pans with intermediate values between the two first types formerly reported, like in Țara Vrancei (table 2). These dimensional combinations are characterized by two conformational types: 1) very brachycephalised populations, most of the indices being around 85

Table 5
Anthropological characters by centuries

County Community Authors	TRANSILVANIA			MOLDOVA		
	Sinnicolau de Beiuș			Giulești		
	I. Popovici—M. Vladescu			I. Popovici — M. Cristescu		
Century	XI—XIV	XVIII— XVIII	XX	XIV— XVI	XVII— XIX	XX
Characters	X̄	X̄	X̄	X̄	X̄	X̄
EU—EU/G—OP	77.5	79.2	87.9	73.4	81.9	86.1
G—OP	187.3	184.9	181.8	197.8	190.2	182.0
EU—EU	145.0	146.1	160.0	145.2	155.8	156.5

(Țara Vrancei, Țara Dornelor); 2) hyperbrachycephalised populations with indices between the limits 86 and 88 (The Apuseni Mountains). As regards the brachycephalisation of those populations from the Apuseni Mountains and those of Transylvania we consider some observations as necessary. From our data concerning the values of the cephalic index we may state that here is the most brachycephalised nucleus of the populations from Romania. Then, like the respective authors, without maintaining the thesis of an always direct and uninterrupted continuity, we state that the territories of Transylvania were inhabited for thousands of years. Among the first brachyskulls discovered in the prevailing dolico-cephalic Neolithic populations in the Romanian territory, was also quoted the skull from Gura Baciului-Criș Culture. The alpine elements, assigned to it, are today the major taxonomic feature of the populations from Sălcuța, Poșaga or Ocoliș (3).

In the female population, the dimensional model, characterized by medium long and broad brain pans, is frequent. As regards the cephalic index, both women and men from the Apuseni Mountains are brachycephalic because of the great values of the transversal diameter eu-eu (table 4).

2. THE DYNAMIC OF THE MICROEVOLUTION

In comparison with the former generation, the populations have been continuously brachycephalised, the ratio of the microevolution ranging between 0.2 and 3.5 index units in the male population and 0.1 and 4.1 index units in the population. Estimating the intensity of the phenomenon by the "Student" text values, the male population from 8 communities

have clearly (even if not equally) brachycephalised. In only one locality, Ocoliș, the population has completely preserved the values of the cephalic index during 40 years, and in other two localities, Fundu Moldovei and Ilișești, the first tendency of debrachycephalisation of the Romanian population was noticed. This is rather late, taking into account that in other European populations this phenomenon took place at the end of the 19th century.

The diachronic modification of the brain pans was achieved by two principal mechanisms. The first is the unproportional growth in time of both dimensions. When the advantage occurs to the transversal diameter, the debrachycephalisation of the populations takes pace. This happened with most subjects of our research. When the advantage occurs to g-op, as in the male population from Ilișești and Fundu Moldovei, then the phenomenon reverses. The second mechanism consists in antagonistic dimensional evolutions, with the lowering of the anterior-posterior diameter and the growing of the transversal diameter as in the male population from Nereju, Tulnici and Bîrsești (12).

In the localities Sinnicolau de Bieș and Giulești, the microevolution continued in the same way, with the historical tendency to more rounded cephalic brain pans. However, a difference of rate exists.

The final values in the 20th century are approximately the same and point to hyperbrachycephalia. Yet the process of brachycephalisation was more intense between the first two periods at Giulești and between the last two periods at Sinnicolau (table 5). That is the very interval about which the authors (7) put forth the idea of a genetic continuity in Sinnicolau, with demographical and anthroponymical arguments (besides the historical anthropological ones). Indeed, in the interval 1895–1919, the endogamic marriages represented 94% (7) and in the 7th decade of our century, the traditional enlarged family of 2 or 3 generations was still present. Also 4 anthroponyms of present families with a penetration of over 50% in the population are documentarily certified since 1692*.

Endogamy and differential fecundity can therefore be resorted to, to explain, at least partly, the present hyperbrachycephalia at Sinnicolau.

Anyhow, the data historically ordered emphasize that in a period of 300 years, the cephalic index grew from meso/brachycephalic scores to hyper/ultrabrachycephalic scores.

3. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The fundamental conclusions regarding the microevolution of the male population are: 1) most populations are brachycephalised up to the quantum which exceeds even 3 i.u. as against the former period (Nereju from 81.5 in 1927 to 85.0 in 1987); 2) the cephalic index remains invariable in only one population (Poșaga 86.9 in 1939 and also in 1985); 3) the first significant tendencies to debrachycephalisation appear in Ilișești (86.4 in 1942 and 83.7 in 1968). In two communities where comparisons

* Unpublished data of I. Popovici-Bădărău and M. Vlădescu

of craniometric data from the medieval epoch are made, the scores of the cephalic index vary from meso/brachycephalic to hyperbrachycephalic in a period of 300 years (Sinnicolau de Beiuş 79.2 in the 17–18 th centuries ; 87.9 in the century).

There are no fundamental differences of sexual dimorphism in the development of the microevolution of the cephalic index. However two aspects should be emphasized : 1) higher scores of the female cephalic index in both periods, simultaneously with higher rates of brachycephalisation (Nereju 3.5 i.u. in the male population, 4.1 i.u. in the female population) ; 2) tendencies to debrachycephalisation have not been found out-

Between the dimensional modifications with a very important role. in the rounding of the brain pans, we specify those of the transverse diameter eu-eu, with progressively increasing scores.

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Center of Anthropological Researches
Bucharest

NEUROPSYCHIC DISORDERS FROM AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE (I)

ELENA RADU, ECATERINA MORAR

Anthropology can grasp human existence in the hypostasis of action and interaction of its biological, somatic, interpersonal (psychic) and extrapersonal (social and cultural) dimensions, which can lead to the success or failure of adaptation.

The new existential condition of the human being, acted upon by a series of biological, psychical, social, moral, ecological, previously almost unexisting stimuli, compelled the anthropological research to modify its objects concerning the human adaptability problems.

This research, by the interdisciplinarity of its steps, proposes to analyse on a populational level, in an interdisciplinary manner, in different ecological contexts, the adaptation difficulties and the adaptation failures in a representatives female population.

In the last decade, our anthropological researches on human adaptability have actually translated their centre of gravity from the somatic field to the psychical one.

In the context of human adaptability, the symmetry of the neuro-psychic disorders with the normal condition arises from the fact that the psychological—the psychical—activity is in both aspects cause, sign, shaping or curative agent and rhythm, that is forms of duration.

The fear that we live “in a neurotic world” can be diminished by a realistic analysis of the concepts of natural pain and neurotic pain, placed in a field of interdisciplinary crossroads, in which a synthesis of psychopathological, anthropological, sociological and philosophical prospects on human existence takes place.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS

In pathological psychology, the affective processes have an essential importance. In comparison with affectivity, any psychopathological process plays an accessory role.

The causal-psychic factors are more or less important in the pathogenesis and in the etiology of many somatic diseases. Depending on patients, their importance could be essential, determining, adjuvant, favouring, secondary, etc. These epithets mark, as far as possible, the intensity of their participation in the etiopathogeny of some somatic disorders and also the moment of their appearance in the causal chain.

1. *The psychic factors* with etiopathologic role in the determinism of a somatic disorder, *may not be pathological* (they may not constitute a symptom, a syndrome, or a psychiatric disorder), but they may be elements of a normal personality, making up only a prevailing feeling, a prevailing emotion in the personality.

Somatic disorders are a result of our activity, of our actions, of our behaviour or our conduct. To be sure, the personality, with its fundamental features, plays an important role in the onset of some somatic disorders, since our acts and our conduct depend on our psychic personality, on our cognitive, affective and volitive processes.

2. In psychosomatics, the existence of a "neurotic character" with an outstanding hypertrophy of some features of the personality may play a great etiopathogenetic role. The same characters (or tempers, according to other authors) have features which approach them to neuroses: emotive, phobic, obsessive, paranoid mendacity, schizoid, epileptoid etc.

They are not pathological "in se", but they represent an exaggeration of a personality's dimension, as normal variants of the character.

When these features are particularly accentuated, we can speak of psychopathic personalities. Both the individuals with "neurotic character" and those with psychopathic personalities can suffer from somatic affections, traumatisms, intoxications, which are determined and conditioned by their personality to a great extent.

3. *Psychogene reactions* or *psychopathological reactions* cover the ensemble of the attitudes, behaviours or clinical pathological pictures which directly follow the action of some psychotraumatic or psychostressing factors.

4. *Psychosomatic reactions* have for long been considered by psychosomaticians, the only psychoneurotic disorders, because the relation between the affectively traumatic living and the somatic disorder was obvious and certain.

We can draw the conclusion that the *psychosomatic disease* may be defined as that disease in whose etiology, pathogeny, evolution and therapeutics, the psychogenetic factors play an important but variable role and a greater role than in general in diseases¹. The psychosocial factors can emphasize some somatic disorders, can aggravate some symptoms and that is why the name of "comprehensive medicine" (medicine of human being's understanding) given to the psychosomatic medicine emphasizes that the social and emotional factors are important in the diagnosis and therapy of any medical disorder². In consequences, the relation between the affective and somatic symptoms will be underlined. This relation must not be univocally examined and it must not be considered as involving psychogenesis of some somatic disease.

Yet, the coexistence of psychic disorders with the somatic affections in the same patient requires a psychosomatic approach, the use of some methods and the technics adequate to the detecting of the less apparent psychical disorder.

¹ Redlich C. Fr. Freedman X. D., *The Theory and Practice of Psychiatry*, Basic Books Inc., New York, 1966.

² *Ibidem*.

That is why in our research we begin the examination of the patient with "a singular preliminary examination" when the subject presented his complaints, firstly the somatic ones but also the neurotical disorders. There follows a detailed cross-examination for obtaining the heredo-collateral antecedents: mental disorders, suicide, alcoholism, delinquency, neurotical states, infirmities. At the same time, the heredo-collateral social antecedents are studied, that means the social, economic, intellectual, cultural, familial level, the migration from the native village, town, etc. In order to detect some psychic disorders in the examined subjects, questionnaires were applied such as personality's tests (Woodworth) and some questionnaires exploring emotionality features, leaving aside cognitive parameters (attention, memory, judgment, etc.) to determine interests attitudes, scale of value, activities, etc.

The analysis of the neuropsychic disorders (Alexandra Test) depending on constitution emphasizes the prevalence of the longilineal constitutions both in psychic diseases, in suspicions of neuropsychic disorders and in psychoneurotic mixed syndromes.

Only one exception is recorded for the psychoneurotic mixed syndromes of neurotic intensity with somatic disorders, prevailing especially in brevilineal constitutions.

Neuropsychic disorders reach the highest level in longilineal constitutions, which, for the first age group —x—24 years reach a paramter of 4.44% in comparison with the brevilineal and medicaolineal constitutions which, for the same age interval, do not record neurotic, psychotic or psychopathic disorders (Table 4).

The longilineal constitution types, in the same age interval, present 5.71% cases suspected of neuropsychic disorders, 6.00% mixed syndromes of neurotic intensity, 5.55% syndromes of neurotic intensity with somatic disorders and 16.66% agitated depression.

For the 25—34 years age group, the longitudinalineal constitutions clearly stand out by the higher frequency of all the neuropsychic disorders.

The particularly higher frequency, 60.00%, especially occurs in the psychic disorders and that of 62.12% in the psychoneurotic mixed syndromes of neurotic intensity. In this age group, we notice that all neuropsychic disorders appear in over half of the logilineal population while the brevilineal constitutions record frequencies between 12 and 33% and the mediolineal ones between 16 and 33%.

Psychic disorders record only 19.04% in the brevilineal type comparatively with 60.00% in longilineal constitutions and 21.42% in mediolineal constitutions (Table 4).

Between 35 and 44 years of age, the frequencies of the psychoneurotic disorders begin to get equal in the 3 constitutional types, recording however an increase of the depressive-anxious tendencies in brevilineal constitutions (55.00%) and of the mixed psychoneurotic syndromes of neurotic intensity with somatic disorder for the mediolineal constitutions.

The age interval of 35—44 years seems to particularly affect the mediolineal constitutions.

Passing to the next age group, 45–54 years, the psychoneurotic disorders picture appears totally changed : the longitudinal constitutions will record the lower rate for all the neuropsychic disorders. In this age interval the higher frequencies of the neuropsychic disorders are recorded for the brevilineal constitutions (between 53 and 66%) followed by the mediolineal constitutions.

To notice

— The longilineal type manifests its neuropsychic vulnerability starting with the young age groups and presents a peak of these sensitivities neuropsychic vulnerabilities in the 25–34 years age group.

After this age, the number of subjects with neuropsychic manifestations from the above categories decreases.

For the brevilineal type, the 45–54 years age group is the most vulnerable to the neuropsychic disorders, especially to those of neurotic or psychotic intensity.

It is interesting that in the 45–54 years age group in no constitutional type do we find the disorders of psychopathic intensity which behavioural disorders (Table 3 and 4).

In fact, these disorders are the most seldom noticed in all age groups and in all constitutional types.

— Concerning the mediolineal constitutional type, moderate rate values are recorded (with the maximum value 57.14%).

The passing from low rate values to average ones is gradually recorded, beginning with 25–34 years age group and finishing with 45–54 years age group.

The mediolineal constitutions do not record notable disorders for $x - 24, 55 - x$ age groups. The constitutional type with the noisiest and earliest manifestations is the longilineal type.

— The brevilineal type is the quietest one until the 45 – 54 years age group (which records the maximum of the disorders).

— If our research will focus on the neuropsychic disorders (i.e. on the recorded subjects, already diagnosed as neuropsychic patients), we record that the highest rate for the entire sample is recorded in the longilineal type (Tables 1 and 2).

— The mediolineal type records average rates for all the age groups in which these disorders are presented.

— The longitudinal type is totally unequal and records an exciting high rate (60.00%) in 25 – 34 years age group and low rate values (4.44%) in $x - 24$ and 45–54 age group (when to the levels of the other constitutional types either the level is 0.00% for $x - 24$ age group or the rate is higher, 57.14% or 42.84% for the 45–54 years age group).

— The longilineal type alerts much more by the onset of these disorders. They appear even in young ages while in the other constitutional types, the rate values are null and reach the climax in the age class when the mediolineal type and the brevilineal one announce their first disorders.

Exaggerating a little we can say that the longilineal type has a “choleic” shocking beginning of its wave, wanting to maintain an impression of noise, of disorder when it has already finished. Instead of focussing

Table 1

The constitutional variability of the neuropsychical disorders

	Longilineal		Brevilineal		Mediolineal	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Psychical Disorders	45	56.25	21	26.25	14	17.50
Suspect neuropsychical disorders	35	48.61	25	34.72	12	16.66
Mixed psychoneurotic syndromes						
A. Of neurotic intensity	66	50.00	39	29.54	27	20.45
B. Of psychopathic intensity with behavioral disorders	2	66.66	1	33.33		
C. Of neurotic intensity with somatic disorders	36	36.00	42	42.00	22	22.00
D. Depression and anxiety	18	60.00	6	20.00	6	20.00

Table 2

The ecological variability of the neuropsychical disorders

	URBAN		RURAL	
	N	%	N	%
Constituted Psychical disorders	50	62.50	30	37.50
Suspect neuropsychical disorders	42	68.33	30	41.66
Mixed psychoneurotic syndromes				
A. Of neurotic intensity	76	57.57	56	42.42
B. Of psychopathic intensity with behavioral disorders	1	33.33	2	66.66
C. Of neurotic intensity with somatic disorders	54	54.00	46	46.00
D. Depression and anxiety	17	56.66	13	43.33

Table 3

The variability with age of the neuropsychic disorders

	x—24 age		25—34 age		34—44 age		45—54 age		55—x age	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
3	2	2.50	34	42.50	24	30.00	20	25.00	0	0.00
4	2	2.77	25	34.72	22	30.55	23	31.94	0	0.00
5 A	5	6.78	59	44.69	28	21.21	37	28.03	3	2.27
B	0	0.00	1	33.33	2	66.66	0	0.00	0	0.00
C	2	2.02	26	26.26	26	26.26	42	42.42	3	3.03
D	3	10.00	12	40.00	9	30.00	6	20.00	0	0.00
	14	3.36	157	37.74	111	26.68	128	30.76	6	1.44

Table 4

The constitutional variability with age of the neuropsychic disorders

		x-24 age		25-34 age		35-44 age		45-54 age		55-x age	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<i>Longilineal</i>		2	4.44	27	60.00	14	31.11	2	4.44	0	0.00
3		2	5.71	19	54.28	11	31.28	3	8.57	0	0.00
4	A	4	6.00	41	62.12	12	18.18	8	12.12	1	1.51
5	B	0	0.00	1	50.00	1	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
	C	2	5.55	18	50.00	8	22.22	5	13.88	3	4.54
	D	3	16.66	9	50.00	4	22.22	2	11.11	0	0.00
<i>Brevilineal</i>		0	0.00	4	19.04	5	23.80	12	57.14	0	0.00
3		0	0.00	3	12.00	7	28.00	15	60.00	0	0.00
4		0	0.00	9	23.07	9	23.07	21	53.84	0	0.00
5	A	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	100.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
	B	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	100.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
	C	0	0.00	8	19.04	6	14.28	28	66.66	0	0.00
	D	0	0.00	2	33.33	3	50.00	1	16.66	0	0.00
<i>Mediolineal</i>		0	0.00	3	21.42	5	35.71	6	42.84	0	0.00
3		0	0.00	3	25.00	4	33.33	5	41.66	0	0.00
4		0	0.00	9	33.33	7	25.92	8	29.62	2	7.40
5	A	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
	B	0	0.00	0	0.00	12	57.14	9	42.85	0	0.00
	C	0	0.00	0	0.00	12	57.14	9	42.85	0	0.00
	D	0	0.00	1	16.66	2	33.33	3	50.00	0	0.00

our attention on the mediolineal or brevilineal type in the 35-44 and 45-54 years age group, we are tempted to remain close to the longilineal type, waiting for unpleasant events.

In reality, the brevilineal type makes more problems with outstanding intensities in the 45-54 years age group and although the mediolineal type continues to be in the limit, of intensities under averages to averages it has a long period of neuropsychic disorders between 24 and 54 years.

The syndromes with neurotic intensity of somatic disorders record the highest rate value (66.66%) in the brevilineal type for its most vulnerable age group (45-54 years).

Also at the age of maximum vulnerability, the longilineal type records the rate of 50.000. In exchange, the mediolineal type records the maximum rate of these disorders (57.14%) in 35-44 years age group and not in the 45-54 years age group when its vulnerability is maximum (Tables 1-4).

A prevailing feature of the brevilineal constitutions for the mixed syndromes of neurotic intensity with somatic disorders is correlated with psychoneurotic tendencies which, for the same brevilineal constitutions are prevailing for the premorbid categories and those with psychopathological potential, further implied in the etiopathology of the psychosomatic etiopathogeny.

The analysis of the psychoneurotic tendencies on a populational level concerning the somatic constitution emphasizes a series of differences of psychic structure.

The fragility of the psychic structure in brevilineal constitutions seems more accentuated than in mediolineal and longitudineal constitutions.

This negative psychic load finds expression in depressive and hypochondriac tendencies with psychopathological signification in over 40% of the brevilineal populations, in over 35% for the emotive tendencies, anxiety, anguish, and over 25% for obsessive-phobic tendencies and psychasthenia. All these accentuated psychoneurotic tendencies represent a deficiency of psychic energy, a fragility of the psychic structure (Tables 5 – 18).

From an ecological point of view, the accentuated psychoneurotic tendencies, that means those with psychopathological signification, are obvious in the urban population of rural origin, evincing depression and hypochondria in approximately 40%, emotivity, anxiety, anguish, in approximately 36%, obsessive-phobic tendencies and asthenia in approximately 25%.

In the urban population of rural origin we notice the increased frequency of the impulsive tendencies in approximately 28% (Tables 5–18).

If we analyse the distribution scale of the values of the psychoneurotic tendencies, we have an image of the continuity from normal $x = -119$ and, by extension of the sense $120-149$, to an attention area $150-199$ and further to an alarm area, over 200, where we can touch the psychopathological area.

Concerning the evolution with age of the psychoneurotic tendencies in constitutional types, it has been ascertained that for the longitudineal constitutions, the higher frequencies for the categories with psychopathologic significance are recorded up to 34 years, decreasing then to half of the value, while the frequency of the brevilineal constitutions with psychoneurotic tendencies with psychopathologic signification is clearly preponderant after 35 years of age.

CONCLUSIONS

As concerns the neuropsychic disorders, the longilineal constitutions present the greatest vulnerability, reflected in the prevalence of cases frequency in all types of disorders, but with only one exception, that of mixed syndromes of neurotic intensity with somatic disorders where the prevalence belongs to the brevilineal constitutions.

The analysis of the variability of the neuropsychic disorders depending on age emphasizes two constitutional features: the longilineal constitutions very early manifest their neuropsychic vulnerability especially up to 34 years of age, while the brevilineal constitutions have a psychic vulnerability especially manifested after 35 years of age.

The longilineal constitutions alarm especially by the early onset of the neuropsychic disorders, a shocking "choleric" beginning, tending to maintain an impression of noise and disorder, which, after 35 years of age begins to blot out.

Table 5

The constitutional variability of the psychoneurotic tendencies in female population

	x-119		120-149		150-199		200-249		250-x	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<i>Longilineal</i>	288	32.95	155	17.73	208	23.79	92	10.52	131	14.98
1. Simple emotions										
2. Obsession and psychas-thenia	418	47.82	150	17.16	149	17.04	107	12.24	40	4.57
3. Schizoid tendencies	483	55.26	103	11.78	163	18.64	98	11.21	17	1.94
4. Paranoia tendencies	559	63.95	146	16.70	105	12.01	58	6.63	6	0.68
5. Depressive and hypochondriac tendencies	330	38.67	86	9.83	208	23.79	145	16.59	105	12.01
6. Impulsive tendencies	484	55.37	98	11.21	66	7.55	81	9.26	118	13.50
7. Instability tendencies	510	58.35	0	0.00	169	19.33	102	11.67	93	10.64
8. Antisocial tendencies	763	87.29	0	0.00	74	8.46	22	2.51	15	1.71
<i>Brevilineal</i>										
1. Simple emotions	196	24.59	100	12.55	219	27.48	96	12.05	186	23.34
2. Obsession and psychas-thenia	287	36.01	172	59.22	133	16.69	124	15.56	81	10.16
3. Schizoid tendencies	450	56.46	101	12.67	151	18.95	79	9.91	16	2.01
4. Paranoia tendencies	538	67.50	129	16.19	87	10.92	39	4.89	4	0.50
5. Depressive and hypochondriac tendencies	247	30.99	74	9.28	152	19.07	130	16.31	194	24.34
6. Impulsive tendencies	403	50.56	125	15.68	87	10.92	72	9.03	110	13.80
7. Instability's tendencies	559	70.14	0	0.00	123	15.43	67	8.66	46	5.77
8. Antisocial tendencies	739	92.72	0	0.00	25	3.14	19	2.38	14	1.76
<i>Mediolineal</i>										
1. Simple emotions	77	25.75	41	13.71	84	28.09	36	12.04	63	21.07
2. Obsession and psychas-thenia	118	39.46	50	16.72	53	17.72	41	13.71	27	9.03
3. Schizoid tendencies	153	51.17	45	15.05	22.07	66	31	10.36	6	2.00
4. Paranoia tendencies	187	62.54	56	18.72	33	11.03	24	8.02	1	0.33
5. Depressive and hypochondriac tendencies	95	31.77	43	14.38	66	22.07	52	17.39	45	15.05
6. Impulsive tendencies	152	50.83	43	14.38	30	10.03	33	11.03	43	14.38
7. Instability tendencies	193	64.54	0	0.00	41	13.71	35	11.70	20	6.68
8. Antisocial tendencies	268	89.63	0	0.00	20	6.68	8	2.67	5	1.67

Table 6

The ecological variability of the psychoneurotic tendencies in female population

	x-119		120-149		150-199		200-249		250-x	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<i>Urban</i>										
1. Simple emotions	408	34.31	176	14.80	294	24.72	117	9.84	194	16.31
2. Obsession and psychas-thenia	563	47.35	219	18.41	183	15.39	140	11.77	84	7.06
3. Schizoid tendencies	685	57.61	154	12.96	215	18.08	111	9.58	21	1.76
4. Paranoia tendencies	793	66.69	109	9.16	131	11.01	69	5.80	7	0.58
5. Depressive and hypochondriac tendencies	443	37.25	122	10.26	262	22.03	183	15.39	179	15.05
6. Impulsive tendencies	682	57.35	169	14.21	102	8.57	104	8.74	132	11.10
7. Instability tendencies	754	63.41	0	0.00	213	17.91	115	9.67	105	8.83
8. Antisocial tendencies	1067	89.73	0	0.00	76	6.39	28	2.35	18	1.51

Table 6 (continuare)

<i>Rural</i>										
1. Simple emotions	153	19.54	120	15.32	217	27.71	107	13.66	186	23.75
2. Obsession and psychas- thenia	260	33.20	155	19.79	162	20.60	132	16.85	74	9.45
3. Schizophrenia tenden- cies	411	52.49	95	12.13	165	21.07	94	12.00	18	2.29
4. Paranoia tendencies	491	62.70	142	18.13	94	12.00	52	6.64	4	0.51
5. Depressive and hypo- chondriac tendencies	229	29.24	81	10.34	164	20.94	144	18.39	165	21.07
6. Impulsive tendencies	357	45.59	122	15.58	83	10.60	82	10.47	139	17.75
7. Instability tendencies	508	64.87	0	0.00	130	16.60	91	11.62	54	6.89
8. Antisocial tendencies	703	89.78	0	0.00	43	5.49	21	2.68	16	2.04

Table 7

The constitutional variability with age of the psychoneurotic tendencies—longilineal types(x — 24 age) group

Psychoneurotic tendencies	x—119		120—149		150—199		200—249		250—x	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. Simple emotions	74	34.42	46	21.40	42	19.53	24	11.16	29	13.49
2. Obsession and psychasthenia	112	52.09	41	19.07	33	15.35	24	11.16	5	2.33
3. Schizoid tendencies	113	52.56	28	13.02	46	21.40	22	10.23	6	2.79
4. Paranoia tendencies	139	64.65	36	16.74	31	14.42	8	8.72	1	0.47
5. Depressive and hypochondrium tendencies	92	42.79	21	9.77	57	26.51	24	11.16	21	9.77
6. Impulsive tendencies	128	59.53	26	12.09	14	6.51	20	9.30	27	12.56
7. Instability tendencies	108	50.23	0	0.00	52	24.19	36	16.74	19	8.84
8. Antisocial tendencies	181	84.19	0	0.00	21	9.77	7	8.26	6	2.79

Table 8

The constitutional variability with age of the psychoneurotic tendencies — female total (25—34 age group)

Psychoneurotic tendencies	x—119		120—149		150—199		200—249		250—x	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. Simple emotions	121	30.71	73	18.53	96	24.37	41	10.41	63	15.99
2. Obsession and psychasthenia	187	47.46	65	16.50	64	16.24	53	18.45	25	6.35
3. Schizoid tendencies	225	57.11	42	10.66	77	19.54	43	10.91	7	1.78
4. Paranoia tendencies	253	64.21	63	15.99	46	11.68	31	7.87	1	0.25
5. Depressive and hypochondria tendencies	144	36.55	39	9.90	98	24.87	74	18.78	39	9.90
6. Impulsive tendencies	217	55.08	53	13.45	30	7.61	36	9.14	58	14.72
7. Instability tendencies	218	55.33	0	0.00	75	19.04	48	12.18	53	13.45
8. Antisocial tendencies	341	86.55	0	0.00	38	9.64	10	2.54	5	1.27

Table 9

The constitutional variability with age of the psychoneurotic tendencies—Longilineal type (35—44 age) group

Psychoneurotic tendencies	x—119		120—149		150—199		200—249		250—x	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. Simple emotions	101	37.13	47	17.28	63	23.16	22	8.09	39	14.34
2. Obsession and psychastenia	143	52.57	39	14.34	47	17.28	26	9.56	17	6.26
3. Schizoid tendencies	169	62.13	33	12.13	36	13.24	29	10.66	5	1.84
4. Paranoia tendencies	181	66.54	43	15.81	26	9.56	19	6.99	3	1.10
5. Depressive and hypochondriac tendencies	114	41.91	24	8.82	57	20.96	41	15.07	36	13.24
6. Impulsive tendencies	152	55.88	45	16.54	25	9.19	24	8.82	26	9.56
7. Instability tendencies	187	68.75	0	0.00	43	15.81	23	8.46	19	6.99
8. Antisocial tendencies	246	90.44	0	0.00	15	5.51	7	2.57	4	1.47

Table 10

The constitutional variability with age of the psychoneurotic tendencies — Female total (45—54 age group)

Psychoneurotic tendencies	x—119		120—149		150—199		200—249		250—x	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. Simple emotions	45	41.28	13	11.93	29	26.61	9	8.26	13	11.93
2. Obsession and psychastenia	53	48.62	24	22.02	21	19.27	7	5.42	4	3.67
3. Schizoid tendencies	71	65.14	16	14.68	14	12.84	7	5.42	1	0.92
4. Paranoia tendencies	79	72.48	20	18.35	7	6.42	2	1.83	1	0.92
5. Depressive and hypochondriac tendencies	41	37.61	11	10.09	26	23.85	17	15.60	14	12.84
6. Impulsive tendencies	65	59.63	13	11.93	11	10.09	8	7.34	12	11.01
7. Instability tendencies	83	76.15	0	0.00	15	13.76	4	3.67	7	6.42
8. Antisocial tendencies	99	90.83	0	0.00	6	5.50	3	2.75	1	0.92

Table 11

The constitutional variability with age of the psychoneurotic tendencies - brevilineal type (x—24 age) group

Psychoneurotic tendencies	x—119		120—149		150—199		200—249		250—x	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. Simple emotions	26	34.21	9	11.84	21	27.63	6	7.89	14	18.42
2. Obsession and psychastenia	38	50.00	15	19.74	13	17.11	7	9.21	3	3.95
3. Schizoid tendencies	47	61.84	11	14.47	12	15.79	6	7.89	0	0.00
4. Paranoia tendencies	55	72.37	10	13.16	7	9.21	4	5.26	0	0.00
5. Depressive and hypochondriac tendencies	34	44.74	9	11.84	218	23.68	6	7.89	9	11.84
6. Impulsive tendencies	51	67.11	9	11.84	6	7.89	5	6.58	5	6.58
7. Instability tendencies	50	65.79	0	0.00	13	17.11	9	11.84	4	5.26
8. Antisocial tendencies	68	89.47	0	0.00	6	7.89	1	1.32	1	1.32

Table 12

The constitutional (variability with age of the psychoneurotic tendencies — Brevilineal female total (25—34 age group)

Psychoneurotic tendencies	x—119		120—149		150—199		200—249		250—x	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. Simple emotions	72	25.62	40	14.23	76	27.05	36	12.81	57	20.28
2. Obsession and psych- asthenia	125	44.48	60	21.35	40	14.23	38	18.52	18	6.41
3. Schizoid tendencies	170	60.50	35	12.46	54	19.22	20	7.12	2	0.71
4. Paranoia tendencies	194	69.04	43	15.30	29	10.32	15	5.34	0	0.00
5. Depressive and hypoch- ondriac tendencies	110	39.15	29	10.32	57	20.28	40	14.23	45	16.01
6. Impulsive tendencies	156	55.52	46	16.37	20	7.12	18	6.41	41	14.59
7. Instability tendencies	178	63.35	0	0.00	54	19.22	29	10.32	20	7.12
8. Antisocial tendencies	258	91.81	0	0.00	9	3.20	7	2.49	7	2.49

Table 13

The constitutional variability with age of the psychoneurotic tendencies — Brevilineal type (35—44 age) group

Psychoneurotic tendencies	x—119		120—149		150—199		200—249		250—x	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. Simple emotions	69	25.27	38	13.92	75	27.47	35	12.82	56	20.51
2. Obsession and psych- asthenia	111	40.66	55	20.15	46	16.85	35	12.82	26	9.52
3. Schizoid tendencies	156	57.14	34	12.45	43	15.75	36	18.19	4	1.47
4. Paranoia tendencies	182	66.67	49	17.95	30	10.99	11	4.03	1	0.37
5. Depressive and hypo- chondriac tendencies	86	31.50	25	9.16	51	18.68	47	17.22	64	23.44
6. Impulsive tendencies	142	52.01	48	17.58	32	11.72	23	8.42	28	10.26
7. Instability tendencies	204	74.73	0	0.00	34	12.45	20	7.33	15	5.49
8. Antisocial tendencies	258	94.51	0	0.00	7	2.56	6	2.20	2	0.73

Table 14

The constitutional variability with age of the psychoneurotic tendencies — female total (45—54 age) group

Psychoneurotic tendencies	x—119		120—149		150—199		200—249		150—x	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. Simple emotions	75	28.85	29	11.15	70	26.92	25	9.62	61	23.46
2. Obsession and psych- asthenia	79	30.38	60	23.08	45	17.31	44	16.92	32	12.31
3. Schizoid tendencies	147	56.54	28	10.77	56	21.54	21	8.08	8	3.08
4. Paranoia tendencies	177	68.08	44	16.92	28	10.77	8	8.08	3	1.15
5. Depressive and hypoch- ondriac tendencies	67	25.77	27	10.38	40	15.38	46	17.69	80	30.77
6. Impulsive tendencies	129	49.62	32	12.31	34	13.08	28	10.77	37	14.23
7. Instability tendencies	197	75.77	0	0.00	34	13.08	16	6.15	13	5.00
8. Antisocial tendencies	242	93.08	0	0.00	6	2.31	7	2.69	5	1.92

Table 15

The constitutional variability with age of the pshychoneurotic tendencies—mediolneal type (x—24 age) group

Pshychoneurotic tendencies	x—119		120—149		150—199		200—249		250—x	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. Simple emotions	14	24.56	9	15.79	21	36.84	6	10.53	7	12.28
2. Obsession and psychas-tenia	24	42.11	17	29.82	7	12.28	5	8.77	4	7.02
3. Schizoid tendencies	36	63.16	9	15.79	6	10.53	4	7.02	2	3.51
4. Paranoia tendencies	42	73.68	9	15.79	3	5.26	2	3.51	1	1.75
5. Depressive and hypochondriac tendencies	26	45.61	13	22.81	6	10.53	8	14.04	4	7.02
6. Impulsive tendencies	35	61.40	9	15.79	6	10.53	2	3.51	5	8.77
7. Instability tendencies	33	57.89	0	0.00	10	17.54	11	19.30	3	5.26
8. Antisocial tendencies	48	84.21	0	0.00	4	7.02	3	5.26	2	3.51

Table 16

The constitutional variability with age of the psychoneurotic tendencies —female total (25—34 age) group

Pshychoneurotic tendencies	x—119		120—149		150—199		200—249		250—x	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. Simple emotions	42	23.20	26	14.36	46	25.41	33	18.23	34	18.78
2. Obsession and psychas-tenia	68	37.57	32	17.68	36	19.89	31	17.13	14	7.73
3. Schizoid tendencies	92	50.83	16	8.84	46	25.41	22	12.15	5	2.76
4. Paranoia tendencies	116	64.09	32	17.68	17	9.39	15	8.29	1	0.55
5. Depressive and hypochondriac tendencies	56	30.94	23	12.71	39	21.55	36	19.89	27	14.92
6. Impulsive tendencies	98	54.14	23	12.71	11	6.08	17	9.39	32	17.68
7. Instability tendencies	111	61.33	0	0.00	35	19.34	20	11.05	15	8.29
8. Antisocial tendencies	163	90.06	0	0.00	11	6.08	4	2.21	3	1.66

Table 17

The constitutional variability with age of the pshychoneurotic tendencies Mediolineal (35—44 age) group

Pshychoneurotic tendencies	x—119		120—149		150—199		200—249		250—x	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. Simple emotions	28	23.33	24	20.00	37	30.83	12	10.00	19	15.83
2. Obsession and psychas-tenia	52	43.33	26	21.67	22	18.33	8	6.67	12	10.00
3. Schizoid tendencies	61	50.83	28	23.33	22	18.33	8	6.67	1	0.83
4. Paranoia tendencies	84	70.00	20	16.67	13	10.83	3	2.50	0	0.00
5. Depressive and hypochondriac tendencies	40	33.33	16	13.33	26	21.67	14	11.67	24	20.00
6. Impulsive tendencies	66	55.00	21	17.50	10	8.33	12	10.00	11	9.17
7. Instability tendencies	87	72.50	0	0.00	20	16.67	8	6.67	5	4.17
8. Antisocial tendencies	110	91.67	0	0.00	7	5.83	2	1.67	1	0.83

Table 18

The constitutional variability with age of the psychoneurotic tendencies - Female total (45—54 age) group

Psychoneurotic	x—119		120—149		150—199		200—249		250—x	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. Simple emotions	35	39.77	16	18.18	19	21.59	2	2.27	16	18.18
2. Obsession and psychas— tenia	41	46.59	12	13.64	16	18.18	9	10.23	10	11.36
3. Schizoid tendencies	53	60.23	11	12.50	14	15.91	9	10.23	1	1.14
4. Paranoia tendencies	60	68.18	14	15.91	8	9.09	6	6.82	0	0.00
5. Depressive and hypochon- driac tendencies	30	34.09	11	12.50	13	14.77	19	21.59	15	17.05
6. Impulsive tendencies	49	55.68	11	12.50	13	14.77	12	13.64	3	3.41
7. Instability tendencies	65	73.86	0	0.00	16	18.18	4	4.55	3	3.41
8. Antisocial tendencies	85	96.59	0	0.00	3	3.41	0	0.00	0	0.00

The psychoneurotic tendencies of the same population correlated with the neuropsychic tendencies emphasize a fragility of the psychic structure of the brevilineal constitutions with a negative psychic load reflected in the psychic variants with psychopathologic signification prevailing in brevilineal constitutions.

The prevalence of the brevilineal constitutions in psychoneurotic tendencies with psychopathologic signification is correlated with the prevalence of the same constitution for the mixed syndromes of neurotic intensity with somatic disorders.

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Centre of Anthropological Researches
Bucharest

DIE PSYCHOANALYSE IN RUMÄNIEN

V. DEM. ZAMFIRESCU, VERONICA ȘANDOR

War die Existenz der Psychoanalyse in den kommunistischen Ländern möglich? Wenn ja, welches ist ihr Spezifikum? Welches sind die Fragen, die sich in der Ausbildung und der Praxis der Analytiker in den osteuropäischen Ländern ergeben? Welches ist die Situation der Psychoanalyse in Rumänien?

Das sind die Fragen, die nach dem Fallen des Eisernen Vorhangs in Bezug auf die Psychoanalyse in den Ländern Osteuropas aufgeworfen werden, da die europäische Psychoanalyse vor einem neuen Entwicklungsfeld steht. Die folgenden Seiten wollen auf diese Fragen Antwort geben, soweit sie Rumänien betreffen.

I. DER ZEITRAUM 1913–1938: DIE VOR- UND ZWISCHENKRIEGSZEIT¹

Trotz des relativ frühzeitigen Erscheinens erster Arbeiten, die aus Freuds Theorie inspiriert waren, wurde das Werk des Vaters der Psychoanalyse vor dem Einsetzen der kommunistischen Diktatur in Rumänien – in der Vor- und Zwischenkriegszeit – von den medizinischen und Kulturkreisen mit Vorbehalt aufgenommen.

Das 1911 in Paris veröffentlichte Buch von Nicolae Vaschide, *Le sommeil et les rêves* (Der Schlaf und die Träume), war eine Stellungnahme zugunsten der Freudschen Traumtheorie. A. Hesnard sollte feststellen, daß N. Vaschide einer unter den ersten Autoren war, die dem französischen Publikum Aspekte von Freuds Doktrin zur Kenntnis brachten.

Der 22. Juni 1913 ist wohl in der Geschichte der Psychoanalyse in Rumänien ein wichtiges Datum. Damals verteidigte Matyas Ilian an der Bukarester Medizinfakultät seine Doktorarbeit *Die gegenwärtige Situation von Freuds Psychoanalyse*. Das Jahr 1923 ist durch zwei kontradiktorische Haltungen gegenüber der Psychoanalyse bezeichnend, die beide vom Begründer der rumänischen neurologischen Schule George Marinescu eingenommen wurden, zwei Haltungen, welche die Ambivalenz gegenüber der Psychoanalyse schon immer bewiesen haben und die bezeugen, daß die Psychoanalyse in Rumänien Wurzeln zu fangen begann und sich in die Medizin und Kultur Eintritt verschaffte. In jenem Jahr 1923 veröffentlichte George Marinescu in Frankreich, in „Revue générale

¹ Die Informationen über diese Periode wurden dem Artikel Gheorghe Brătescus *Dreptul la adevăr* (Das Recht auf Wahrheit) entnommen, 1980 in der Zeitschrift „România literară” (Das literarische Rumänien) veröffentlicht, worin über 30 Artikel und Bücher mit psychoanalytischem Inhalt genannt werden.

des sciences pures et appliquées" (Allgemeine Zeitschrift für reine und angewandte Wissenschaften) einen kritischen Artikel betitelt *Einführung in die Psychoanalyse* und im gleichen Jahr verlieh er dem Arzt Constantin Vlad, der über *Beiträge zum Studium der psychoanalytischen Behandlung* promovierte, den Titel Doktor der Bukarester Medizinfakultät. Die Arbeit enthielt auch die Darstellung von sechs Fällen.

Constantin Vlad ist in der psychoanalytischen Theorie und Praxis in Rumänien ein wichtiger Name, vor allem dank seiner beiden Bücher: *În domeniul inconștientului* (Im Bereich des Unbewußten) und *Mihai Eminescu din punct de vedere psihanalitic* (Mihai Eminescu von psychoanalytischem Standpunkt).

1927 promovierte ein weiterer Arzt, Ion Popescu-Sibiu, über eine psychoanalytische Arbeit: *Die Doktrin Freuds*. Diese wurde veröffentlicht und innerhalb von 20 Jahren dreimal neu aufgelegt, was für das Interesse spricht, das sie ausgelöst hatte. Ion Popescu-Sibiu hatte auch eine psychoanalytische Praxis. Bis zu diesem Zeitpunkt ist nicht bekannt, ob Popescu-Sibiu und andere rumänische Psychoanalytiker der Vorkriegszeit sich einer Analyse unterzogen haben. Kenntnis haben wir bloß von einem Briefwechsel zwischen Ion Popescu-Sibiu und Sigmund Freud. Auch gibt es einen Brief Freuds an Iosif Westfried, der dem 1928 vom rumänischen Autor veröffentlichten Band *Instinctul sexual* (Der Geschlechtstrieb) als Vorwort diente. In diesem Brief schrieb Freud: „Wie Sie wissen, stieß die Psychoanalyse überall in der Welt auf heftigen Widerstand. Offensichtlich werden Sie ebenfalls große Schwierigkeiten zu bewältigen haben. Ich hoffe dennoch, daß Ihre Bemühungen zu guter Letzt von Erfolg gekrönt sein werden und daß der erachtliche Beitrag und die großen Fortschritte, welche die Psychoanalyse den Wissenschaften und der therapeutischen Praxis erbringen kann, anerkannt werden“².

In den Jahren 1913–1938 erschienen in Rumänien zur Psychoanalyse 30 Artikel und Bücher von 10 Autoren, was beweist, daß Rumänien in jener Zeit in den europäischen Kultur- und Wissenschaftskreislauf integriert und die psychoanalytische Bewegung befriedigend angelaufen war.

Wenn die Rezeption der psychoanalytischen Theorie im medizinischen Milieu als zufriedenstellend angesehen werden kann, so war der Sachverhalt, was den Widerhall der Psychoanalyse in den gebildeten Kreisen anbelangt, ein ganz anderer. Die großen Persönlichkeiten der literarischen, philosophischen und künstlerischen Welt zeigten sich der Psychoanalyse gegenüber eher zurückhaltend. Bezeichnend ist in dieser Hinsicht die fast einhellige Ablehnung von Constantin Vlad's Buch „Mihai Eminescu von psychoanalytischem Standpunkt“, das bislang die einzige auf einen großen rumänischen Schriftsteller angewandte psychoanalytische Studie ist. Es gehört angeführt, daß Mihai Eminescu als der größte rumänische Dichter betrachtet wird und nahezu eine mythologische Gestalt ist.

Eine einzige Ausnahme gab es in der Kultursphäre: den großen rumänischen Philosophen und Schriftsteller Lucian Blaga, der nicht nur einige aus der Psychoanalyse inspirierte Theaterstücke schrieb („Fapta"/ Die Tat, „Ivanca“) sondern auch bei der Gestaltung seiner Konzeption

² Rückübersetzung aus der rumänischen Sprache.

auf der Ebene der Kulturphilosophie aus der Freudschen Theorie schöpfte. Seine Universitätsstudien in Wien erklären diese in der rumänischen Kultur singuläre Position einigermaßen. Die wichtige Stellung Blagas in der rumänischen Kultur sowie seine privilegierte Beziehung zur Psychoanalyse rechtfertigen eine detailliertere Vorstellung seiner in der 1936 erschienenen „Kulturtrilogie“ enthaltenen Ideen.

Der erste Teil dieser wichtigen kulturphilosophischen Arbeit, der „Horizont und Stil“ überschrieben ist, enthält Lucian Blagas Einschätzungen über die Psychoanalyse. Für den rumänischen Philosophen von außerordentlicher Bedeutung ist Freuds Entdeckung des Mechanismus der Verdrängung, des Funktionierens des Unbewußten und der Wiederkehr des Verdrängten. Er sieht in der Idee des psychischen Unbewußten eine wesentliche Entdeckung der zeitgenössischen Wissenschaft. Dennoch übernimmt die Tiefenpsychologie — der originale Beitrag des rumänischen Philosophen zur Entwicklung der Tiefenpsychologie — von Freud nur die Idee des Unbewußten. Es geht dabei nicht um das persönliche Unbewußte, wie Freud es beschreibt, sondern um das kollektive Unbewußte, ähnlich aber nicht identisch mit jenem, das Jung besonders berücksichtigt. Der Unterschied besteht in den Gehalten, mit denen Blaga das kollektive Unbewußte bevölkert, und zwar mit den stilistischen Faktoren, die der rumänische Philosoph der Kulturmorphologie entnimmt: der räumliche und zeitliche Horizont, der axiologische Akzent, die anabatische und katabatische Einstellung, der Bildungstrieb. Diese Faktoren bilden zusammen, was Blaga die stilistische Matrix oder das stilistische Feld nennt. Im Unterschied zu den Archetypen, die triebhafter Natur und universal sind, unterscheiden sich die stilistischen Faktoren nicht nur von einer historischen Epoche zur anderen sondern auch von einem Volk zum anderen. Während die Archetypen sich nicht durch reziproke Relationen zu einer kohärenten Struktur konstituieren, bilden die stilistischen Faktoren einer Epoche, zum Beispiel, gemeinsam ein stilistisches Feld, das alle Kulturproduktionen jener Epoche markieren wird (Kunst, Literatur, Wissenschaft, Politik).

Wir können diese Retrospektive der Psychoanalyse im Rumänien der vorkommunistischen Epoche nicht abschließen, ohne auf eine äußerst wichtige Tatsache hinzuweisen: Obwohl die Psychoanalyse nicht Objekt eines offiziellen ideologischen Verbots war, wurde im Zeitraum 1913—1938 keiner von Freuds Texten in die rumänische Sprache übersetzt. Die Erklärung für diese überraschende Tatsache müssen die Historiker und Theoretiker der rumänischen Kultur noch finden.

II. NACH DEM KRIEG: UNTER DER DIKTATUR

Nach dem 23. August 1944, dem Zeitpunkt der Einsetzung der kommunistischen Diktatur in Rumänien, verbot die stalinistische Ideologie mehrere Wissenschaftszweige, darunter die Genetik, die Soziologie, die philosophische Anthropologie, die Psychoanalyse. Anscheinend hatte davon die Psychoanalyse das härteste Schicksal, denn die Rumänische Gesellschaft für Psychoanalyse konnte erst im Februar 1990 gegründet werden.

Was die psychoanalytische Praxis anbelangt, so wurde sie in all dieser Zeit im Geheimen betrieben. Weil die Analytiker isoliert tätig waren, ist es schwierig, das Ausmaß ihrer Praxis genau zu bestimmen.

Auf kultureller Ebene war die Psychoanalyse bis zur relativen Öffnung, die 1965 begann, nahezu absent, ohne jegliche Äußerungsmöglichkeit. In jener Zeit wurde sie von der Ideologie des Realsozialismus mit Beurteilungen von der Art „bürgerliche Philosophie“ oder „pansexuale Theorie“ abgefertigt. Eine späte Frucht der kurzen Zeitspanne relativer kultureller Liberalisierung nach 1965 war das Erscheinen, 1972 und 1973, der ersten beiden der Psychoanalyse gewidmeten Bücher. Es handelt sich um *Introducere critică în psihanaliză* (Kritische Einführung in die Psychoanalyse) von Ion Popescu-Sibiu und Victor Săhleanu, herausgegeben vom Klausenburger Dacia Verlag, und *Etică și psihanaliză* (Ethik und Psychoanalyse) von Vasile Dem. Zamfirescu, herausgegeben vom Wissenschaftlichen Verlag, Bukarest.

Die Autoren des ersten Bandes nahmen sich, unter den damaligen Bedingungen einer totalen Unkenntnis, was die Psychoanalyse betraf, vor, eine Übersicht der psychoanalytischen Bewegung von den Ursprüngen bis 1972 zu bringen, was ihnen auch gelang. Der Band ist sehr reich an Informationen, ohne eine vorgefaßte doktrinaire Meinung, obwohl „kritische Einführung“ betitelt. Das Wort „kritisch“ mußte in den Titel aufgenommen werden, damit es die Zusage zur Veröffentlichung erhalte, in einer Zeit, in der in Rumänien zweierlei Zensuren durchestanden werden mußten: seitens des Kulturministeriums und seitens einer Instanz von Sachkundigen.

Im Band von Ion Popescu-Sibiu und Victor Săhleanu, die in der Darstellung der Psychoanalyse keine ideologischen Konzessionen gemacht haben, können wir über Freud und die erste Dissidenz Adlers und Jungs nachlesen, über den amerikanischen Kulturalismus, über die wichtigsten Vertreter der Frankfurter Schule, wie Marcuse oder Fromm, über Lacan Merleau-Ponty oder Bachelard. Auch heute, 19 Jahre nach dem Erscheinen, kann einem diese kleine Enzyklopädie der Psychoanalyse von Nutzen sein.

„Ethik und Psychoanalyse“ kann aus zwei Gründen in eine Geschichte der Psychoanalyse in Rumänien aufgenommen werden:

— weil dieser Text bewiesen hat, daß die Psychoanalyse mit dem Marxismus nicht unvereinbar ist, was den beiden Orientierungen eine Perspektive der Zusammenarbeit erschloß; unter dem Einfluß von Marcuse schlug der Autor eine Synthese zwischen Freud und Marx vor, angewandt auf die Ethik.

— weil darin versucht wird, anhand der Freudschen Theorie einen partikulären Bereich des Geisteslebens in freudo-marxistischem Geist zu erklären — die Moralität.

Das Jahr 1980 brachte der rumänischen Kultur, dank eines glücklichen Zufalls, ein wichtiges Ereignis: die ersten beiden Übersetzungen aus Freuds Werk in die rumänische Sprache. Das eine Buch erschien im Didaktischen und pädagogischen Verlag, Bukarest und enthielt drei von Freuds Werken: *Vorlesungen zur Einführung in die Psychoanalyse*, *Neue Vorlesungen zur Einführung in die Psychoanalyse* und *Zur Psycho-*

pathologie des Alltagslebens. Für die Übersetzung zeichnete Leonard Gavrilin. Das zweite Buch, *Scrieri asupra literaturii și artei* (Schriften zur Literatur und Kunst), wurde vom Bukarester Univers Verlag veröffentlicht. Es enthielt Freuds Essays, die der Literatur und Kunst gewidmet waren, in der Übertragung von Vasile Dem. Zamfirescu.

Nach dem Jahr 1980 versperren die ideologischen Instanzen der Macht jeder Übersetzung aus Freuds Werk den Zugang zur Veröffentlichung. Trotz dieses Verbots, das sowohl die Psychoanalyse als auch die Übersetzungen aus Freuds Werk betraf, konnte 1985 der Band *Între logica inimii și logica minții* (Zwischen der Logik des Herzens und der Logik des Verstands) von Vasile Dem. Zamfirescu erscheinen.

Im ersten Teil des Buches nimmt sich der Autor vor zu beweisen, daß die Psychoanalyse im Problem der Relation zwischen Seele und Geist Klärung bringen kann, einer Beziehung, welche die deutschen Philosophen der 30-er Jahre beschäftigt hatte. Der Autor streicht heraus, daß die Entdeckung eines neuen geistigen Horizontes — des unbewußten Geistes — ein erster Beitrag der Tiefenpsychologie zur Behandlung der Frage Geist-Seele ist. Dieser Gedanke erscheint schon um das Jahr 1920 bei Freud, doch bringt erst Jung das Unbewußte explizite mit der Frage Seele-Geist in Verbindung. Die Archetypen sind nichts anderes als Keime des unbewußten Geistes. In der „Kulturtrilogie“ erreicht der rumänische Philosoph Lucian Blaga aus der Perspektive der Tiefenpsychologien ein reifes philosophisches Bewußtsein über die Frage Geist-Seele.

Was die Relation zwischen der unbewußten Seele und dem bewußten Geist anbelangt, unterscheidet „Zwischen der Logik des Herzens und der Logik des Verstands“ zwei Ebenen : die genetische Ebene und die Funktionsebene. Was den genetischen Aspekt anbelangt, ist Freud Monist : Für ihn wird der Geist während der Ontogenese aus der Seele geboren. Jung und Blaga hingegen sind Dualisten : Für sie sind der Geist und die Seele zwei vom genetischen Standpunkt unterschiedliche Entitäten. Die Funktionsperspektive, die in der psychoanalytischen Theorie ebenfalls präsent ist, behauptet, daß der Geist, einmal erschaffen, von der Seele unabhängig funktionieren kann, daß er sie kontrollieren und sogar unterdrücken kann.

Was die Präsenz der Psychoanalyse im Gebiet der Medizin anbelangt, kann folgendes angeführt werden :

1975 erschien der Band *Introduce in psihoterapie* (Einführung in die Psychotherapie) von Ion Vianu, der vor 11 Jahren in die Schweiz emigrierte. Der Autor präsentiert darin die therapeutischen Prinzipien der Psychoanalyse sowie seine Erfahrung als Psychotherapeut analytischer Orientierung.

Obwohl die rumänische Nachkriegspsychiatrie in ihrer Orientierung und Heranbildung den Beitrag der Psychoanalyse entbehren mußte, bekundeten ein paar junge Psychiater theoretisches Interesse für die Psychoanalyse. In diesem Konnex ist auch die Tatsache zu erklären, daß die wichtigsten Begriffe der Psychoanalyse in das vierbändige Enzyklopädische Wörterbuch der Psychiatrie, von dem seit 1988 erst, drei Bände erschienen sind, aufgenommen wurden. Die Artikel zu diesen Begriffen wurden zum Großteil von zwei Psychologinnen verfaßt, die die Psychoanalyse praktizieren : Irena Andrucovici und Veronica Șandor.

Man kann sagen, daß die eigentliche psychoanalytische Praxis im Rumänien der Nachkriegszeit durch das Wirken des Psychologen Eugen Papadima begann, der sich 1970 von Ion Popescu-Sibiu eine persönliche Analyse erbat, um Analytiker zu werden. Von den Behandlungen, die Eugen Papadima mit Erfolg leitete, erwiesen sich sechs von didaktischem Charakter. Fünf Psychologen und ein Philosoph begannen ihrerseits als Analytiker zu arbeiten, nachdem sie sich analysieren ließen. Eugen Papadima und die von ihm ausgebildeten Analytiker praktizierten nach wie vor eine Freud'sche Therapie, gegründet auf freie Assoziation, gleichschwebende Aufmerksamkeit, entgegenkommende Neutralität und die Analyse der Übertragung.

Obwohl Eugen Papadima mit seiner Praxis Erfolg hatte, sah er sich gezwungen auszuwandern, infolge der Heimlichkeit seiner Praxis, der Unmöglichkeit zu veröffentlichen und sich als Analytiker einen Namen zu machen sowie wegen der allgemeinen materiellen und geistigen Misere im Rumänien jener Jahre. 1988 emigrierte Papadima in die USA.

Die von Eugen Papadima analysierten und gegenwärtig aktiven Analytiker sind, in alphabetischer Reihenfolge, Andrucovici Irena, Bujor Nadia, Clit Radu, Ionescu Aurelia (die sich in einer Sondersituation befindet, weil mit dem Abwandern Eugen Papadimas ihre Analyse abgebrochen wurde), Sandor Veronica und Zamfirescu Demeiru Vasile. Sie haben in fast völliger Isolation gearbeitet, ohne Austausch, ohne Institutionen, fast ohne Sachbücher, sie boten Risiken die Stirn, die aus dem ideologischen Verbot der Psychoanalyse und aus dem Verbot der freiberuflichen Tätigkeit hervorgingen. Ihre Aktivität gründete sich auf Freuds Werke, auf die Erfahrung als Analysierte, auf ihren Wunsch, Analytiker zu werden und auf das Gefühl, sich auf dem richtigen Weg zu befinden.

III. IM UNTERGRUND

Hier muß vorausgeschickt werden, daß der Begriff „Untergrund“ nicht streng juristisch verstanden werden soll. Im kommunistischen Rumänien gab es kein Gesetz, daß die psychoanalytische Praxis verbot. Die Praktikanten der Psychoanalyse übertraten bloß das Gesetz, das die Freiberuflichkeit verbot. Das wichtigste Verbot, das die Psychoanalyse betraf, war ideologischer Natur. Es ist eine Ironie und eine Absurdität, übrigens nur eine unter vielen, daß jene, welche die Psychoanalyse aus Überzeugung und in Widerspruch zur herrschenden Ideologie praktizierten, demnach eine Art intellektuellen Widerstand leisteten, als gemeine Verbrecher verurteilt werden konnten, weil sie ein Gesetz verletzten, das die Freiberuflichkeit verbot.

Die oben beschriebenen Umstände der Untergrundtätigkeit führten vor 1989 gewisse Eigenheiten der psychoanalytischen Behandlung herbei. Die zu Analysierenden wurden auch nach einem extrapsychoanalytischen Kriterium ausgewählt: Sie mußten „sicher“ sein, von Freunden oder anderen Analytikern empfohlen, damit das Geheimnis gewahrt werde. Diese Vorsichtsmaßnahme war für die Weiterführung der psychoanalytischen Praxis notwendig. Die Warnung, das Geheimnis zu wahren,

hatte auf die Therapie selbst gewisse Auswirkungen, brachte manchmal Schwierigkeiten in der Handhabung der Übertragung, den unerwünschten Anstieg des Anteils der Suggestion in gewissen Fällen, Schwierigkeiten der zu Analysierenden im Ausdrücken ihres Verhältnisses zur Autorität und zur Macht. (Es gab in Rumänien ein Gesetz, das jene zu Gefängnisstrafen verurteilte, die gegen das Regime sprachen oder sich derartiges anhörten.) Schwierigkeiten ergaben sich desgleichen aus der Tatsache, daß der Analytiker seine Freiheit riskierte.

Die Realität des totalitären kommunistischen Regimes wirft einige allgemeine Probleme auf: das Verhältnis zwischen der inneren und der äußeren Freiheit; die Frage, ob die psychoanalytische Therapie die Adaptation an die Realität, ungeachtet ihrer Art, begünstigt, oder ob das totalitäre System nach Abschluß der Behandlung noch schwerer zu ertragen ist; die Frage des Anteils der äußerlichen Realität in der Behandlung. Vorläufig kann gesagt werden, daß in der Mehrheit der Fälle die Außenwelt je nach der tiefen Problematik des zu Analysierenden in die Behandlung eingriff und immer als Stütze für die Rationalisierung des Angstzustands dienen konnte. Man kann desgleichen sagen, daß der Verdacht, Analytiker oder zu Analysierender könnten dem repressiven Apparat angehören, zuweilen in der Dynamik der Übertragung und Gegenübertragung analysiert werden konnte. All diese Probleme werden künftighin theoretisch analysiert werden müssen.

IV. DIE RUMÄNISCHE GESELLSCHAFT FÜR PSYCHOANALYSE

Wir hoffen, daß diese Anhaltspunkte aus der Entwicklung der Psychoanalyse in Rumänien die Schwierigkeiten veranschaulichen, die das Vordringen der Psychoanalyse in diesem Land hinderten. Auf diesem Terrain wurde im Februar 1990 die Rumänische Gesellschaft für Psychoanalyse gegründet, was infolge der Änderungen möglich geworden war, die die sozialen und politischen Ereignisse vom Dezember 1989 mit sich brachten. Die Mehrheit der Mitglieder der Gesellschaft besteht aus Psychologen. Einige von ihnen, wie Horia Bejat, Augustin Cambosie, Alfred Dumitrescu, haben eine langjährige psychotherapeutische Praxis von analytischer Orientierung. Zu den Mitgliedern der Gesellschaft gehören auch Psychiater und andere Fachärzte, die sich für die Psychoanalyse interessieren.

In ihren Satzungen nimmt sich die Rumänische Gesellschaft für Psychoanalyse folgendes vor:

- die Promovierung der psychoanalytischen Theorie in den kulturellen, wissenschaftlichen und medizinischen Kreisen Rumäniens;
- die Ausbildung weiterer Analytiker;
- internationale Austausche;
- die Anerkennung der Kompetenz der Gesellschaftsmitglieder in der psychoanalytischen Praxis;
- die Anerkennung des Rechts auf freie Ausübung der Psychoanalyse in Rumänien.

V. PSYCHOANALYSE UND TOTALITARISMUS

Obwohl das oben umrissene Bild relativ arm an Daten ist, ist es im wesentlichen umfassend genug, um zwei Fragen aufzuwerfen: a) Warum erweckte die Psychoanalyse die heftige Opposition des Totalitarismus, vor allem des kommunistischen? b) Weshalb war diese Feindseligkeit nicht nur intensiv, indem sie sich zu Beginn in der Heftigkeit der Verurteilung konkretisierte, sondern auch extensiv, indem sie mit insignifikanten Momenten des Nachlassens während der ganzen Dauer des Realsozialismus beibehalten wurde?

Auf den ersten Blick scheint die Antwort nicht schwer zu fallen, da sie schon in den Formeln zu finden ist, mit denen die Psychoanalyse sowohl auf klinischer als auch auf kultureller Ebene gleichsam zur Inexistenz verurteilt wurde. Als ideatische Emanation mit wissenschaftlichen Präntentionen betrachtet, welche die alten, „bürgerlichen“ Denkweisen, von Schopenhauer und Nietzsche vertreten, verlängerte, mußte die Psychoanalyse von der neuen Ideologie gemeinsam mit ihren Quellen verstoßen, werden. Dieselbe „neue“ Ideologie hatte auch einen weiteren wichtigen Grund, die Psychoanalyse von den Grenzen des „sozialistischen Bewußtseins“ fernzuhalten: ihre vorausgesetzte Immoralität. Im Namen der Läuterkeit des „neuen Menschen“ wurde der Psychoanalyse, als einem Faktor der Dissolution, das Recht verweigert, im Bewußtsein der zu errichtenden idealen Gesellschaft einen Platz eingeräumt zu erhalten.

Selbst wenn keine elementare intellektuelle Skepsis uns heißen würde, in der Akzeptanz ideologischer Formeln vorsichtig zu sein, zwängen uns manche Fragen, von der Erfahrung des erlebten Realsozialismus hervorgerufen, zur Wachsamkeit. So kann der Unterschied im Schicksal der wichtigsten wissenschaftlichen Opfer des Stalinismus — der Genetik und Soziologie einerseits und der Psychoanalyse andererseits — nicht durch die Unterschiede in ihrer praktisch-applikativen Relevanz erklärt werden. Es stimmt, daß die Genetik und die Soziologie dank ihrer Nützlichkeit im Sozialleben „rehabilitiert“ wurden, wobei die Nützlichkeit im Falle der Soziologie vorübergehend durch die Institutionalisierung in der Forschung, im Unterricht, in Betrieben und Einrichtungen anerkannt wurde. Doch hätte auch die Psychoanalyse durch ihre klinische Dimension der Gesellschaft wichtige Dienste erbringen können. Oder wollte der Realsozialismus eben diese Dienste vermeiden? Schon diese Tatsache allein treibt uns, die Bedeutung der negativen Einstellung des Realsozialismus gegenüber der Psychoanalyse zu suchen, jenseits der ideologischen Deklarationen, welche die wahren Gründe verschleiern.

A. DER PROLETKULT ALS RESENTIMENT

Die Untersuchung kann von einer explizierenden Hypothese psychologischer Natur ausgehen: Die Verschmähung der Psychoanalyse ist das Produkt des Ressentiments. Wir haben dabei den wissenschaftlichen Sinn des Begriffs im Augenmerk, wie ihn Friedrich Nietzsche und Max Scheler durchgesetzt haben. In diesem Sinn bildet das Ressentiment eine

psychische Selbstvergiftung durch eine Akkumulation negativer Gefühle, wie Rachewunsch, Haß, Neid, die sich wegen der Unfähigkeit, sie in die Tat umzusetzen, anhaufen. Die Unfähigkeit zur Tat kann ihrerseits von subjektiven Bedingungen eingegeben sein, wie streng individuelle biopsychische Mängel, oder von objektiven, sozialen Bedingungen, die große Menschengruppen betreffen, ungeachtet der biopsychischen Ausrüstung jener, die sie bilden. Im letzteren Fall ist das Ressentiment auf der Ebene des kollektiven Geistes aktiv und bewirkt wahre Wertemutationen. Der Schwerpunkt der positiven Wertung wird von den dominanten Werten, die zu negativen Werten umgewandelt werden, auf die Existenzdaten der benachteiligten Schichten übertragen, die in den Rang positiver Werte gehoben werden, mit dem Zweck, das selbstschätzende Gleichgewicht wiederherzustellen, das durch die soziale Ohnmacht, dem Rachewunsch, Haß oder Neid freien Lauf zu lassen, gestört worden war. Die Umwandlung des Positiven in Negatives und des Negativen in Positives stellt die spezifische Modalität dar, in der das Ressentiment seine Funktion, das Ich vor unerträglichen Spannungen und Konflikten zu schützen, erfüllt. Diese Modalität löst das von der Ohnmacht induzierte Minderwertigkeitsgefühl nicht auf, sondern nimmt ihm das Objekt, wodurch sie es aus dem Bewußtsein entfernt.

Wie das Ressentiment zu der Bildung der christlichen Moral (Nietzsche) oder der bürgerlichen Moral (Scheler) beitrug, spielte es auch in der Formung der „sozialistischen Kultur“ eine entscheidende Rolle, dank des Proletkults, seiner letzten großen historischen Erscheinungsform. Die vom Proletkult vorgenommene Umkehrung der Werte bezweckte, gleich den vom christlichen oder bürgerlichen Ethos erbrachten axiologischen Mutationen, die Aufhebung der offiziellen Werte der vorangegangenen Gesellschaft und ihr Ersetzen durch die Werte, die der Lebensweise der in der jeweiligen Gesellschaft benachteiligten sozialen Kategorien eigen waren. Beschränken wir uns nur auf das Einsetzen neuer Moralen, so werden wir in den drei Fällen einen vollen Parallelismus des Vorgangs feststellen.

Das christliche Ethos hatte Schönheit, Gesundheit, Kraft, Reichtum, kriegerischen Geist — Werte der Aristokratie — entwertet und den Wert auf Haßlichkeit, Leid, Schwäche, Nächstenliebe verlagert — Existenzdaten der Entwurzelten im Römischen Reich; das bürgerliche Ethos hatte nur jene Eigenschaften oder Güter, die durch die eigene Arbeit erzielt wurden, mit Wert investiert, um die angeborenen Privilegien des Adels zu entwerten, und zog den Werten des Lebens (der Fähigkeit, die Freude am Leben zu genießen) die Nützlichkeit vor (die nützliche Arbeit im Dienst der Gemeinschaft, Selbstbeherrschung, Sparsamkeit). Ebenso promovierte die „kommunistische Moral“ den Kollektivismus, die Zusammenarbeit, den Egalitarismus zum Nachteil des Individualismus, der Konkurrenz und der sozialen Differenzierungen.

Gewiß beschränkt sich die Aktion des Ressentiments nicht nur auf die Späre der Moral, wo sie eingehender studiert wurde, sondern sie kann in allen Bereichen des Geisteslebens als Ablehnung der Werte der Vergangenheit, die häufig durch Pseudowerte ersetzt werden, identifiziert werden. Die aufschlußreiche Veranschaulichung dieses Sachverhalts bietet wohl die Tatsache, daß die stalinistische Ideologie die Genetik als Wissensch-

aft abwies und durch die Pseudowissenschaft von Mittschurin und Lisenko ersetzte. In gleicher Weise wurden die Soziologie, die Psychoanalyse und die philosophische Anthropologie abgelehnt, im Namen ihrer Zugehörigkeit zum Geistesschatz der Vergangenheit. Sie wurden als „bürgerliche Wissenschaften“ eindeutig abgefertigt, was gleichbedeutend mit Wertlosigkeit war.

Selbst wenn wir die Gültigkeit der psychologischen Hypothese akzeptieren, werden wir feststellen, daß diese nicht vollauf zufriedenstellend ist, weil sie nur die anfängliche Erbitterung der realsozialistischen Ideologie gegen die Psychoanalyse erklären kann, nicht aber die überraschende Dauerhaftigkeit dieser Erbitterung; war doch die Psychoanalyse die einzige unter den „bürgerlichen Wissenschaften“, die bis zuletzt ausgeschlossen geblieben ist. Wir müssen demnach das singuläre Schicksal der Psychoanalyse in der „sozialistischen“ Kulturaus der Perspektive jener Eigenheiten verstehen, die sie mit dem Totalitarismus unvereinbar machen.

B. EINE IRREDUZIBLE INKOMPATIBILITÄT

Eine zweite explizierende Hypothese, in Ergänzung der ersten, wäre die Idee, daß die subversive Natur der Psychoanalyse im Verhältnis zum Totalitarismus deren langwährende Verbannung durch den Realsozialismus bewirkte.

Der frappante Parallelismus zum Geschick des Existenzialismus, der bedeutsamen Strömung der zeitgenössischen Philosophie, könnte eine der definierenden Noten der Psychoanalyse suggerieren, die sie dem Totalitarismus irreduzible opponieren. Gleich der Psychoanalyse ist der Existenzialismus von der Ideologie des Realsozialismus nie richtig toleriert worden. Zumindest hat die offizielle Philosophie im Nachkriegsrumänien wenig und jedesmal überaus kritisch vom Existenzialismus gesprochen, während die Gründerwerke der Existenzphilosophie, *Sein und Zeit* von Martin Heidegger und *L'être et le néant* von J. P. Sartre bis heute noch nicht übersetzt wurden, von den repräsentativen Werken des religiösen Existenzialismus ganz zu schweigen. Die Ursache dieser Exkommunikation muß in der Inkompatibilität zwischen dem Modus der Behandlung des Menschen im Existenzialismus (als Individuum) und im Marxismus (als Gesellschaft, Totalität) gesucht werden, eine Opposition, die schon in der Kritik enthalten war, die Kirkegaard Hegel brachte, dessen Werk eine der Hauptquellen des Marxismus darstellte. Das Desinteresse des Realsozialismus für das Individuum, der dem „Allgemeinwohl“, der Gesellschaft, der Totalität geschenkte Vorrang, begründet damit, daß sich das Allgemeinwohl automatisch auf das Individuum auswirkt — eine Auffassung, die dem Spezifikum der menschlichen Gesellschaft (zumindest der gegenwärtigen, die sich auf Individualität gründet) zuwiderläuft — führten zur ideologischen Verurteilung aller philosophischen Orientierungen oder Wissenschaftszweige, deren Studiumsobjekt das Individuum darstellte. Geht man von der Wirkung zur Ursache, so kann man die Intensität des Interesses einer Philosophie oder Wissenschaft gegenüber dem Individuum am Grad der Interansigenz messen, mit der die Ideologie des

Realisozialismus sie ablehnte. Von diesem Standpunkt belegen der Existenzialismus und die Psychoanalyse zweifelsohne Spitzenstellen.

Man könnte hier einwerfen, daß auch der Pawlowismus sich mit dem Individuum beschäftigte und immerhin von der Ideologie des Realisozialismus gut toleriert worden ist. Mehr noch, der Stalinismus nahm den Pawlowismus als ein wichtiges Element in sein ideologisches Gerüst auf. Die Erklärung dafür muß in der Tatsache gesucht werden, daß der Pawlowismus, dessen Theorie sich auf die bedingten Reflexe gründete, den Menschen in ein endlos von außen, durch die sozialen Bedingungen modellierbares Material verwandelte. Dies konnte dem kommunistischen System, das unter der Idee der Schaffung des „neuen Menschen“ die Intention der totalen Manipulation des Menschen verbarg, nur recht sein. Demnach ist nicht jede Psychologie mit der totalitären Ideologie unvereinbar, sondern nur jene, die sich mit dem Individuum beschäftigt und dabei die der menschlichen Natur konstitutiven Invarianten herausstreicht, die sich sowohl theoretisch als auch praktisch der verfremdenden Manipulation widersetzen.

Schon in der Zeit ihrer Anfänge, die in einen Moment der Vorherrschaft der viktorianischen Mentalität fallen (Ende des 19., Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts), behauptete sich die Psychoanalyse als eine Anthropologie der Wahrheit und lenkte die Aufmerksamkeit auf die Bedeutsamkeit der natürlichen (triebhaften) Komponente in der Gliederung des menschlichen Ganzen. Es muß betont werden, daß die Freudsche Perspektive vom Menschen nicht von spekulativen (philosophischen) Betrachtungen genährt wurde, sondern von einer ausgedehnten klinischen Praxis. Die klinische Praxis überzeugte Freud, daß nicht nur der Schlaf der Vernunft Monster schafft, sondern auch der Schlaf der Treibhaftigkeit (im besonderen der Sexualität). Die Monster, die vom Verdrängen der Sexualität hervorgerufen werden, heißen Geisteskrankheit (Neurose) oder „nur“ das „banale“ Unglück, das Freud im gleichnamigen Buch „Das Unbehagen in der Kultur“ nennt. Wenn die Sexualität im weiten Sinn, als Lebensinstinkt, eine Achse des menschlichen Lebens darstellt, so ist das Recht auf Lustgefühle ein Grundrecht des Menschen, dessen Verletzung im Funktionieren des Innenlebens des Menschen erachtliche Störungen hervorruft. Denn nicht nur das Seelenleben hat infolge der sexuellen Frustration zu leiden, sondern auch das Geistesleben, das seine Energien aus den primären Zonen schöpft.

Es ist kein Zufall, daß Freuds Entdeckung von der Bedeutsamkeit der Sexualität für das menschliche Dasein in der Demokratie und im Totalitarismus ein völlig anderes, gegensätzliches Geschick hatte. In den Wohlstand schaffenden westlichen Demokratien der Nachkriegszeit trug die Psychoanalyse zur radikalen Modifizierung der Einstellung gegenüber der Sexualität bei, verwandelte sie in eine permissive Mentalität (die sexuelle Revolution), während im Verarmung herbeiführenden kommunistischen Totalitarismus die Psychoanalyse als Pansexualismus ausgeschlossen und die viktorianische Pruderie offiziell gefordert wurde, welche die Sexualität nur als Mittel zur Arterhaltung auffaßt. Denken wir bloß an den bis ins Extreme geführte Puritanismus der Fernsehsendungen in Rumänien der letzten Jahre der Ceausescu-Diktatur oder an das beharrliche Schweigen der Presse zur Geschlechtsfrage.

Wie jede repressive, auf Arbeit zentrierte Gesellschaft, die in der Arbeit nicht ein Mittel zum individuellen und implizite sozialen Wohlstand sah, sondern die effizienteste Form der sozialen und geistigen Manipulation — denn was kann gefügiger machen und eine gründlichere Gehirnwäsche vornehmen als die Sorge um den morgigen Tag — mißfiel dem Realsozialismus die Freudsche anthropologische Auffassung, die sich dem Einsetzen der ganzen triebhaften Energie in der Arbeit widersetzte und das Recht des Einzelnen auf Freude, geistige Gesundheit und Glück verkündete. Es war unausbleiblich, daß die Humanismus als Grundbestandteil der Psychoanalyse die Mißbilligung einer repressiven Gesellschaft auslöste, die trotz grundsätzlicher Deklarationen äußerst ernste Phänomene der Entfremdung der menschlichen Persönlichkeit hervorbrachte.

In der "Schamhaftigkeit" gegenüber allem, was im Menschen natürlich ist, konsequent, weigerte sich die Ideologie des Realsozialismus systematisch, die Natürlichkeit des so menschlichen Drangs nach Selbstbehauptung anzuerkennen, den Nietzsche Willen zur Macht nannte. Zugleich mit ihm wurden Initiative, Wettbewerbsgeist, Kombativität — alles Mittel, durch die das Individuum sich in einer freien Gesellschaft gegenüber den anderen und sich selbst behaupten kann — als Produkte des Einflusses der kapitalistischen Gesellschaft verurteilt. Der Zweck dieser Mystifizierung der menschlichen Natur ist nicht schwer auszumachen. Wie jedem Element, das der verfremdenden Manipulation durch den Staat Schranken setzte und den Bedarf des Menschen an Würde nährte, wurde die Tendenz zur Selbstbehauptung der biologische Charakter, demnach die Permanenz, die Unvergänglichkeit abgesprochen, sie wurde zu einem einfachen historischen (vergänglichen) Reflex eines gesellschaftlichen Typs reduziert. Nun können wir auch verstehen, warum auch die Psychologie Adlers, der zunächst Freuds Schüler war und sich dann von ihm abwandte, sich nicht der Gunst der Wissenschaft und Ideologie des Realsozialismus erfreute. Vor der Ethologie (1973 erhielten Konrad Lorenz, Max von Frisch und N. Tinbergen, drei ihrer Begründer, den Nobelpreis für Medizin und Biologie) bewies die adlersche Psychologie ausgehend von der psychotherapeutischen Erfahrung die tiefe Verwurzelung des Drangs nach Selbstbehauptung in der menschlichen Ausstattung, doch auch eines sozialen Gefühls, das diesen Drang kontrollieren soll, die Wichtigkeit des selbstwertenden Gleichgewichts im Geistesleben, wobei die Störung dieses Gleichgewichts durch die Präsenz der Minderwertigkeitsgefühle Leiden hervorruft, die nicht selten die Grenzen der Normalität überschreiten.

In der neostalinistischen Periode änderte der Realsozialismus seine Einstellung gegenüber der Genetik und der Soziologie, dank derer praktischen Bedeutung, nicht aber gegenüber der Psychoanalyse, die ausgeschlossen blieb, obwohl ihre klinische Praxis sie für eine Neuwertung hätte empfehlen können. Soll es sich dabei um einen einfachen, sagen wir der Ignoranz zuzuschreibenden Zufall gehandelt haben oder um eine verborgene Notwendigkeit? Die Antwort können wir erhalten, wenn wir das Ziel der analytischen Psychotherapie prüfen, das Freud kurz folgendermaßen formulierte: „Wo Es war, soll Ich werden". Freud sprach von der Erweiterung des Ich durch Bewußtmachung, durch die möglichst völlige Assimilation der unbewußten Dimension der Persönlichkeit.

Anders gesagt, das Ich wird nicht mehr vom Unbewußten beherrscht (gedacht oder bewegt), wie es in unterschiedlichen Graden bei dem Kind, dem Geisteskranken oder dem unreifen Erwachsenen der Fall ist, sondern es kann, durch seine Erweiterung als Folge der Bewußtmachung, seine Funktion als zentrale Instanz der Persönlichkeit ausüben, kann die Forderungen, die von der Außenwelt kommen, mit jenen in Einklang bringen, die aus der Innenwelt strömen (das Es — der psychische Repräsentant der Instinkte — und das Überich). Wenn der gesunde Mensch für die Psychoanalyse jener ist, der nach den Erfordernisse der Wirklichkeit rinzip lebt, ohne das Lustprinzip zu verneinen, so ist die „Heilung“ das Resultat eines Prozesses der Reife, der Verselbstandigung des Ichs. In diesem Sinne sagte Jung, der Kampf mit dem Infantilismus sei eines der Hauptprobleme des menschlichen Daseins. Und die nützliche Folge der selbst nur teilweise gelungenen Psychoanalyse ist eben die Überwindung des Infantilismus.

Als totalitäre Gesellschaft produziert der Realsozialismus, wie bekannt, die massenweise Infantilisierung der Erwachsenen. Als Resultat der vereinten Aktion der quasitotalen Etatisierung der Wirtschaftsaktivität, des Einparteiensystems und der ideologischen Indoktrinierung, repräsentiert die Infantilisierung, die sich in einem schwach entwickelten Ich konkretisiert, eine wesentliche Voraussetzung der sozialen Manipulation, durch die der Fortbestand des Systems gesichert wird. Da die Psychoanalyse die Bekämpfung der Infantilisierung zum programmatischen Ziel hat, hätte sie durch ihre klinische Dimension eine wesentliche Voraussetzung des Realsozialismus unterminiert. Aus diesem Grund blieb die Psychoanalyse trotz ihrer praktischen Dimension „unrehabilitiert“.

Nicht nur als psychologische Theorie sondern auch als klinische Praxis mit dem Realsozialismus unvereinbar, findet die Psychoanalyse ihren natürlichen Platz in einer demokratischen Gesellschaft eben durch das, was sie für den Totalitarismus subversiv und unerwünscht macht: ihr Interesse für das Individuum, die anti-repressive Einstellung, die Bekämpfung des Infantilismus.

Rumänien, das nun den Weg der Demokratie eingeschlagen hat, braucht, um darin Erfolg zu haben auch den Beitrag der Psychoanalyse.

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*Forschungszentrum für Anthropologie
Bukarest*

THE 20th CENTURY — THE CENTURY OF ADAPTATION DISEASES?

ECATERINA MORAR, ELENA RADU

As a general phenomenon, *adaptation* is a major attribute of the human being, on both phylogenetic and ontogenetic levels. The problem of adaptation diseases arose only in this century. Does this mean that adaptation diseases exist only in this century? Does this mean that adaptation diseases did not exist before the industrial revolution and the emergence of the post-industrial society? We think that it is hazardous to assert that adaptation diseases occur exclusively in the Middle Ages and in the contemporary era. Anyway, we can not say that the phenomenon exists only from the moment when it was scientifically analysed. The phenomenon itself is inherent to human life and consubstantial to mankind. Most of the concepts used from a sociological or culturological point of view ("anomia", "deviance", "acculturation") in the contemporary society with direct relevance to the adaptation phenomenon, are *key-concepts* also for the retroactive elucidation of determining moments in the history of some cultures, groups or personalities.

Adaptation of any kind was never simple because of the discrepancy between man's slower biological evolution and the faster technological and social development. This level of tension involves both the assertion of the progressive factors in the civilizing field and "the price" paid for ensuring progress. This price was always supported by adaptation mechanisms: man was forced to properly respond to stimuli from many directions. It is considered to be a permanence that simultaneously with the complication of life in the industrial society, there occurs a lack of agreement of the existential stimuli: they are often disharmonious. In any case, the new type of reasoning implied by "the spirit of capitalism" (Max Weber) reduced in its essence to the formula of "rational action directed to achieve a purpose" was not easily performed and, anyway, it was not achieved without "specific losses" within the adaptation phenomenon.

For instance, between the efficient assimilation of action and the biopsychic resources there is no preexisting concordance. So, some will more easily be adapted to the conditions imposed by this type of rationality of efficient action, while others will suffer adaptation failures in the competing game and perpetual race. Of course, this explanation is valid for the normal history, without any totalitarian experiment — in which adaptation did not aim at the sanction addressed to the rational action targeted to the achievement of a goal, but the submission to irrational commandments economically ineffective and generating the "inverse selection" on a statutory level. That means that, for us, the pro-

blem of adaptation is much more difficult. On the one hand, phenomena such as industrialization and urbanization involve a quasisimilar adaptation answer and, on the other hand, adaptation now involves a proper answer to the completely new situations, such as those related to the assimilation of a behaviour subordinated to the standard of the rational actions and to the rules of the democratic game.

In this case, the well-known transitivity is superadded to the less known strategy of readaptation to history's period of transition. In fact, now, nobody can be cosy in a statute imposed by the mechanisms of the totalitarian power, everybody must learn roles and social rules little known to them. The adaptation process is accompanied by unlearning, giving up behaviours and mentalities which, even if they had not always the agreement of conscience had entered the large field of responses to stimuli and they became habits and mentalities. At the same time it is well known that adaptation is more propitious for the individual when it is anticipative. In this case one more difficulty appears: a big enough cognitive space for game does not exist for the majority of subjects and the realities to which they have to accommodate themselves are not transparent because of their very unforeseeable character. Not only the cognitive deficit is an obstacle for the potential anticipated adaptation but also the remanence of the affective and volitive strata in the structure of the personality. In the near future many such adaptation shortcircuits will occur, with hard to foresee effects on the states of mind. The prevalence of sthenic over discouraging is, of course, the adaptation ideal which, like any ideal, can only seldom be reached. In any case, the well-known examined "organizational stress", mainly generated by the conflict of the role and its ambiguity, will be augmented too. The avalanche of stress factors tends, in many cases, to tip the scales from the sanogenetic level (stimulative-evolutive) to the morbigenetic one (destructuring-involutive).

In fact, adaptation is achieved not only fragmentarily, i.e. in the sphere of labour, family life, social participation. It is a whole, a permanent change. If maladaptation captures a single level of the social insertion of the individual, this suffices for it to extend all over the adaptation mechanisms, over the entire personality. In this way, somatic diseases are just a resultant of adaptation fractures: to the objective incongruities on the social and psychological level there corresponds a perturbation of the adaptation mechanisms in the biological infrastructure.

Somatisation as a response to the flow of daily stimuli targetting the individual makes us admit as a postulate the idea that the pathology of contemporary civilization is largely accounted for by adaptive failures and, on the other hand, to acknowledge a predisposition substratum in the premorbid personality of the individual. The latter idea is extremely important because it excludes from the beginning any attempt to consider that only the individual is "guilty" for his adaptive failures. In the same time the individual has to be aware of his own limits and to assume the responsibility for his own actions. In other words if predispositional weaknesses can not be blamed on an individual, still he may be reproached the adaptation to negative ethical and juridical limits. We reach an

extremely difficult subject, both from the angle of philosophical anthropology (the relation of reciprocal foundation of the vital and of the moral) and from that of physical and cultural anthropology (the relation of the biological frame and the types of dominant values in contemporary culture). It is true that the table of values to which the individual has to adapt himself is a "mixt" one : it is hard to find now as in preindustrial societies a factor of internal unity, a unique centre of the individual and social values aims. At the same time we must not forget that the individuals are submitted to at least one double divergent pressure.

On the one hand, dignity values (moral, theoretical, aesthetical, religious and judicial ones) are first inoculated to the individuals by means of social learnings while on an infrastructural level the desired values (vital, utilitarian, consumption ones) are imposed. Finally the adaptation is a partially solved tension, partially impossible to solve, between the values of totalization — which solidarize the people — and the values of consumption — values which exhaust in the valorization act, which pre-supposed ownership and which separate and divide the people.

It results that adaptation and inadaptation are subjects relevant to the very problem of the sense and destiny of each individual in contemporary society.

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*Center of Anthropological Researchers
Bucharest*

HISTOIRE DES THÉORIES DANS L'ANTHROPOLOGIE
SOCIALE ET CULTURELLE ET L'APPAREIL CONCEPTUEL
DES RECHERCHES ROUMAINES DE SPÉCIALITÉ

(XI)

« VALUE ORIENTATION » DANS LA CONCEPTION DE QUELQUES
PHILOSOPHES, SOCIOLOGUES ET ANTHROPOLOGUES QUI
ONT COLLABORÉ AUX RECHERCHES DES 34 STATIONS PILOTE
URBAINES ET RURALES POUR LA RÉALISATION DE L'ATLAS
AXIOLOGIQUE NATIONAL

V. V. CAMELEA *, LAURA PARCIU*, DOINA PĂTRĂȘCAN*, GEORGETA MAR-
GHESCU *, R. ANGHEL**, V. MOTAPANYANE**

En Roumanie il y a une bonne tradition de l'étude des valeurs. On trouve des contributions notables dans les ouvrages de nombreux penseurs : philosophes, historiens, sociologues, psychologues, éthiciens, esthéticiens, logiciens, économistes. Il est significatif que certains en ont présenté les valeurs en système—manière d'approche imposée dans l'étude actuelle des cultures.

Jusqu'à la moitié de notre siècle, on croyait que les valeurs étaient l'objet exclusif de la réflexion philosophique. Par conséquent on n'a pas conçu et réalisé de recherches factuelles, concrètes sur les valeurs des communautés humaines.

Jusqu'en 1964, dans notre pays non plus, on n'a pas réalisé pratiquement dans la recherche scientifique du niveau académique une investigation concrète des valeurs des communautés sociales, historiquement constituées, des différenciations et des continuités manifestées au cours de leur devenir.

L'initiation des investigations complexes interdisciplinaires des valeurs a été favorisée par l'introduction, en 1971, des premiers cours d'anthropologie sociale et culturelle aux chaires de philosophie et de sociologie de l'Université de Bucarest. Pendant vingt ans — 1972 — 1992 — des spécialistes roumains et étrangers, le corps universitaire, des chercheurs scientifiques, des candidats au doctorat en médecine et des étudiants ont effectué sur place des investigations concrètes sur des échantillons représentatifs pour la structure par catégories professionnelles (paysans, ouvriers, intellectuels), selon âge et sexe.

Les investigations concrètes ont été initiées en deux stations expérimentales — Berevoiești et Cimpulung Muscel, département d'Argeș — deux communautés de petits propriétaires de terres voisines ayant une

existence antérieure à la fondation des premiers Etats féodaux roumains. C'est ici que fut réalisée, entre 1972 et 1973, la première recherche qui utilisait un modèle afin d'obtenir des données concernant le système de valeurs des Roumains. Ce modèle permettra, ultérieurement, une étude comparée des valeurs culturelles du peuple roumain et des systèmes des valeurs culturelles d'autres peuples. Ce fut une collaboration dans le cadre d'échanges culturels entre les États-Unis (le plan Fulbright) et la Roumanie, plan réalisé par le prof. dr. Eugene Pendleton Banks et le prof. dr. Vasile V. Caramelea.

Dans une étape ultérieure, la recherche fut étendue à l'échelle nationale dans 34 stations expérimentales—17 urbaines et 17 rurales — comprenant les provinces historiques—le Banat, la Transylvanie, l'Olténie, la Valachie, la Moldavie, la Dobroudja et plusieurs « pays » ethnographiques — le Pays d'Oaş, le Pays des Motzi, le Pays d'Olt, Mărginimea Sibiului, le Pays de Loviște.

De 1972 à 1980, dans six stations expérimentales d'Argeș, Pitești, Cîmpulung, Curtea de Argeș, Izvorul, Stîlpeni, Berevoiești, on a effectué des expérimentations méthodologiques en appliquant tant les instruments d'investigation élaborés par Clyde Kluckhohn et Florence Kluckhohn — qui utilisent un nombre réduit d'items et échelles — que l'instrument développé, élaboré par Zdenek Salzmänn de Massachusetts University sur 34 items appliqué par lui en Tchécoslovaquie.

Ainsi a-t-on posé les fondements du premier Atlas axiologique qui présente les orientations des valeurs du peuple roumain.

Au cours des recherches visant l'élaboration de cet Atlas, dans une deuxième étape, à l'étude des orientations des valeurs (les valeurs-prémisses) on a ajouté l'étude des valeurs concrètes. D'amples investigations ont été entreprises sur les catégories des valeurs biologiques, médicales et éducationnelles.

Les principaux objectifs de ces investigations ont poursuivi la mise en évidence des éléments constitutifs de la culture du peuple roumain, du mode d'articulation de la culture roumaine dans l'arc universel des cultures, la détection des valeurs qui rendent compte du caractère intégré de la culture roumaine, des aspects d'unité et, respectivement, de diversité de la culture du peuple roumain, l'analyse de la processualité de ces valeurs.

Au fur et à mesure du déroulement des recherches et, respectivement de structuration de l'Atlas de la culture du peuple roumain, de l'éclaircissement des problèmes d'ordre théorique et méthodique impliqués par cette activité, les résultats ont été présentés dans le cadre de nombreuses manifestations scientifiques nationales, à l'Université de Bucarest dans la Commission pour anthropologie et ethnologie de l'Académie Roumaine, au Centre de recherches sociologiques, à l'Institut « Victor Babeș » et à l'Université Culturelle Scientifique de Bucarest (dans le cadre d'un cours échelonné sur 8 années). Ces résultats ont été aussi analysés dans le cadre des séances bimensuelles du Cercle d'anthropologie sociale et culturelle organisé par la Maison de culture des étudiants de Bucarest.

Sur le plan international, la recherche des orientations des valeurs a été présentée au Congrès de sociologie de Thorun, en Pologne, au XVI^e Congrès d'histoire de la science (Bucarest 1981) à l'Assemblée Générale des anthropologues des Etats-Unis.

Des études, tableaux, graphiques, cartodiagrammes ont été imprimés dans les langues roumaine, française, anglaise, russe et allemande, totalisant jusqu'à présent 81 contributions publiées dans les « Annales de l'Université de Bucarest », « Études et recherches anthropologiques », « Annuaire Roumain d'Anthropologie », « Revue Roumaine des Sciences Sociales, Série de Philosophie et Logique ».

Un film en couleurs — « Pages pour un Atlas » — réalisé dans le studio « Alexandru Sahia » de Bucarest, sur pellicules de 35 mm et 16 mm, en versions roumaine et anglaise et avec une présentation en français, rend des moments significatifs du déroulement de la recherche et de l'analyse des résultats des stations expérimentales d'Arges.

La recherche des valeurs de la culture du peuple roumain a été effectuée en vue de l'élaboration de l'Atlas axiologique national. Quelque part dans l'Atlas, le professeur Banks parle des orientations des valeurs de notre peuple dans les termes suivants : « Les Roumains sont un peuple orienté vers l'activité, vers l'avenir ».

Dans les recherches roumaines et celles des collaborateurs d'autres pays — États-Unis, Norvège, République Sud-Africaine, Argentine, Équateur, Guinée Bissau, etc. — pour la réalisation de l'Atlas axiologique national, nous sommes partis de la formule donnée par le sociologue américain Talcott Parsons qui, dans *The Social System* écrit : « Le concept d'orientation de la valeur constitue un procédé logique pour formuler un aspect central de l'articulation des traditions culturelles dans le cadre du système d'action ».

Les orientations de valeur sont « également applicables — selon Clyde Kluckhohn — aux individus et aux groupes. C'est un domaine dans lequel les investigations des principes de l'ensemble des thèmes dans la personnalité et dans les cultures peuvent utilement aller ensemble. La qualité distinctive de chaque culture se base, en essence, sur le système propre des valeurs ». Ce fut une thèse significative dans la consolidation théorique de l'Atlas axiologique national. Elle doit être aussi rattachée à l'idée que « la nature de ce problème (de l'orientation des valeurs) pourrait être nommée philosophique mais quelque abstraites que soient les solutions, elles n'en sont pas moins vitales pour ordonner la vie de la communauté et celle des individus. Les prémisses et les suppositions que nous faisons à notre sujet, à l'égard de nos prochains, à la nature humaine en général, servent à conduire notre activité en rapport de nous-mêmes, de nos prochains, des hommes, en général » (Florence Kluckhohn).

Pendant la discussion et l'analyse du système intégral dynamique, élaboré et appliqué dans les recherches complexes coordonnées par l'anthropologie sociale et culturelle roumaine dans des stations pilote urbaines et rurales, par provinces historiques, par microrégions ethnographiques, une préminente figure de l'anthropologie mondiale, Margaret Mead, allait dire : « En rapportant toute chose à l'homme, l'anthropologie transfigure tout, la nature apparaît comme un dialogue défini avec l'homme, l'espace traditionnel est une réalisation avec l'histoire, la communauté représente le lieu où l'on retrouve l'essence humaine créatrice de valeurs » (Pages pour un Atlas Anthropologie filmique).

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TRENDS OF RESEARCH IN GERMAN ETHOLOGY
(THE INSTITUTE OF HUMAN ETHOLOGY
OF MAX PLANCK'S SOCIETY)

V. DEM. ZAMFIRESCU

Since the Institute of Human Ethology of Max Planck's Society represents the nucleus of this kind of scientific researches in Germany and all over the world, we can undoubtedly affirm that the orientations of those researches are representative both for German ethology and for world ethology. It is significant that the Institute is headed by Professor Dr. Iräneus Eibl-Eibesfeldt, the founder of human ethology and Konrad Lorenz's disciple; the second personality of the institute is Professor Dr. Wulf Schiefenhovel.

The present institute has developed from a working group founded in 1970 and it passed through several administrative stages. In 1975 it became a distinct department in Max Planck's Institute for Behaviour Physiology. In 1986 it became an independent unit in Max Planck's Society. Since 1988, the Institute of Human Ethology has acquired the present structure and residence in Andechs, 40 km away from Munich.

Defined by I. Eibl-Eibesfeldt as "the biology of human behaviour", human ethology has as theoretical basis the hypothetic realism, the evolutionism and the theory of selection in their modern variant.

Human ethology works with a series of methods which permit the objective recording of human behaviour and the statistical processing of the data.

One of the main directions of the human ethology's research is the investigation of phylogenetic adaptations in human behaviour, for which the term of "inborn" is also used. Within this comprehensive framework of the investigation of the genetically ordered behaviours, an important role is played by the research on human aggressiveness and contraggressiveness. And it is the ethologic researches on human aggressiveness which aroused the most numerous disputes concerning this discipline.

Lorenz's hypothesis, resumed and consolidated by I. Eibl-Eibesfeldt, that aggressiveness is also for human beings an instinct like all other instinct, profitable for the preservation of the species, represents the first target of criticism against ethology. And still, the direct researches on human being and especially the comparison of the aggressive behaviour of the members of different cultures lead to the discovery of some phylogenetic adaptations in this field: territoriality proved omnipresent in all human populations, irrespective of the geographic situation or the level

of historical evolution. The aggressive manifestations occur in all human populations in the early ontogenesis (the stealing of goods, the defending of goods, the repellent reaction against strangers). Phylogenetic adaptations in the motor and receiving domain of aggressiveness exist; in point of gestures and mimic (fury's mimicry is universal: the corners of the mouth downwards, teeth slightly uncovered, staring at the adversary). Among situations triggering human aggressiveness (key excitants), we mention only the threats against the group's security and thwarting the demand conformity with the norm.

The critics of ethology artificially separate the problems of aggressiveness and contraggressiveness, disregarding the fact that in ethology in general and in human ethology in particular, they are indestructibly correlated. Aggressiveness serves the preservation of the species as it is controlled by phylogenetic adaptations in the field of contraggressiveness. Human ethology proves the existence of some inborn inhibitions of aggressiveness in the human being. Man is also endowed with appeasement behaviours which release the mentioned inborn inhibitions of the intraspecific aggressiveness.

This category includes the gestures of submission: bowing, kneeling down, lying on earth, military salute, the resort to infantile behaviour or using a child to trigger inborn inhibitions of aggressiveness. Ethology has the merit to describe "the baby schema" as "a key antiaggressive excitant" for the human being (the disproportion head-trunk, the greatly vaulted forehead, round shapes). The eye's greeting, the smile are also inborn, pacific elements of human mimicry.

The most recent researches in this field refer to a vital question for mankind, namely war. The results of these researches will be available to Romanian readers in 1993, when the Romanian translation of I. Eibl-Eibesfeldt's book — *The biology of peace and war* — is to be published. I completed the translation last year in Andechs. Here are some important aspects: for human ethology, war is a cultural phenomenon and not a biological programme, although it resorts also to the biologic dimension and achieves vital functions, such as the access to territories and resources. The mainly cultural feature of war results from its strategic planning, from the utilization of artificial weapons and from the systematic effort of canceling the action of the inborn inhibitions of aggressiveness by indoctrination. The warlike propaganda tries to transform the adversary into a non-human being, in other words, to transform him into an individual of another species, thus eluding the biologic inhibitions of aggressiveness. To the biologically rooted norm "do not kill", the cultural norm "kill your enemy" is opposed.

Another extremely interesting aspect is the cultural ritualization of war, in other words, the utilization of the cultural procedures aimed at decreasing the frequency of conflicts and the casualties (common festivities after the end of the hostilities, the utilization of arrows without feathers, exchange of objects, etc).

One of the most recent trends in that research field is the study of hierarchy-forming and evolution of children's in kindergartens. The theoretical idea underlying these researches is that, from a hierarchical point of view, the life in children's groups of kindergarten age does not reflect

the adult world but finds it. The ethology of the primates has offered the methodological basis for these researches. In the primates' group, leaders can be recognized by the observers as they are focusing the attention of the other members of the group. Thus, to identify animal "Alph", it is enough to see which member of the group draws attention. The same criterion is valid also for human beings.

One of the most interesting results of these researchers (films were made for two years on end) is the fact that only in very little children is aggressiveness the main behavioural element which determines the position in the group's hierarchy. Beginning with 4 years of age, "the structures of dominance" are replaced by "structures of leading". In these structures the leaders are not always the most aggressive; often the leaders can organize games, help in settling conflicts, share foods or toys, provide solace to the other children or talk with them. It is significant that such hierarchical structures are developed also in the kindergarten antiauthoritatively oriented.

The hierarchy in the children's groups is mobile and, during one year, it records an evolution well grasped by the mentioned researchers. Some children advance to the top of the hierarchy while others lose in time the superior position owned.

Before passing to the presentation of the researches with applied character we mention among fundamental researches, *etholinguistics*. This subdivision of ethology aims to examine language, from the human ethology point of view. The ethologic prospects proved to be fruitful concerning the manner of occurrence of significations on the basis of biologically conditioned elements of the social life (solidarity, conflict, dominance, submissiveness, elementary strategies of interactions). *Ansehen* (renown, consideration) clearly results from the fact of being looked at, of focusing attention and *Verachtung* (contempt) results from the opposite situation, not to be looked at, not to attract attention. Another interesting aspect is the role of language in the ritualization of conflicts: the transposition of aggressiveness on an oral level diminishes the negative consequences for the harmony of the group.

Between the applied disciplines, *the ethology of the town* is interesting by its goals. In point of theoretical premises, the ethology of the town is based on the idea that big cities provide nonbiological conditions. We refer to the anonymity of the intermediate relations imposed by the great number of inhabitants in the big city and also to the architectonic aspects. Human ethology considers that inhibiting a big city contributes to the fatigue of the social reactions and to the increasing of aggressiveness. The studies made the researchers of the Institute of Human Ethology together with researchers from specialized institutes in Vienna followed up the way in which architectonic structures influence human behaviour. The manner of behaviour in 24 open areas of Vienna was examined (central markets, commercial passages, recreation spots, etc), using as indicators the frequency of utilization and the modifications of the place. It was found out that the social spaces most appropriate for obtaining higher frequencies of human interactions are those characterized by average densities of the population and average utilization frequencies. These

researches, which go on, lead to the conclusion that social spaces should be built not only on aesthetic criteria but also with the aim of ensuring a right social integration in the big city, a high frequency of human interactions.

Art is another field of application of the knowledge of human ethology. In the Institute of Human Ethology of Andechs, the ethology, of art plays a rather important role. The ethology of art considers the aesthetic phenomenon from the angle of communication, investigating the manner in which the creator uses the biologic premises of human intercommunications. One of the favourite fields of the present researches, is represented by the objects of art with an apothropeic aim (sculptures, masks, paintings). At the same time, the evolution of such objects is followed, from the threatening faces with eyes and teeth to the simple design of the eye or the zigzag motif. (According to ethologists, the zigzag motif could derive by abstracting from human teeth).

To end this summary presentation, we have to mention two other important orientations of the researchwork from the Institute of Human Ethology of Max Planck's Society: primatology, so important for the study of human behaviour, and ethnomedicine.

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A COURSE OF LECTURES IN CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

GH. GEANĂ

ARGUMENT: A QUESTION AND AN INCOMPLETE ANSWER

In August 1990, while in Coimbra on the occasion of the 1st Conference of the European Association of Social Anthropologists (EASA)¹, a lot of participants from different countries surrounded me with vivid sympathy, wishing to learn as much as possible about Romanian anthropology and anthropologists. I tried, naturally, to be both objective and persuasive; and I hope I managed. Nevertheless, a question a number of my interlocutors addressed to me imprinted upon my mind; when I said that—in the framework of postrevolutionary renovations in my country — I was invited to deliver a course of lectures in cultural anthropology at the University of Bucharest, I was asked: “Well, and what handbook your course would be based on?”. I knew that in Great Britain and especially in the United States there were plenty of books of “Introduction” to social/cultural anthropology. I myself had used some of them in my theoretical self-training in the discipline (e. g. Lucy Mair’s, Paul Bohannan’s, Ralph Beals & Harry Hoijer’s, Felix Keesing’s and a few others’). However, I had read *at least* one among the essential works written by each of such (not to mention but) classical figures as A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, Bronislaw Malinowski, Siegfried F. Nadel, Raymond Firth, E. E. Evans-Pritchard, Franz Boas, Alfred L. Kroeber, Ruth Benedict, George P. Murdock, Robert Redfield, Ralph Linton etc., etc. And, besides that, I had a long acquaintance with the field work, a *sine qua non* condition of the scientific anthropology; it is true that my field work experience had been consumed within “my own” culture (Romanian anthropology being obstructed in its aspiration towards “other cultures” by a fatidical lack of funds), but I had always had in my mind examples from other cultures and, there-

¹ Detailed comments upon this important meeting may be found in: Thomas Hylland Eriksen, “Memoirs of Coimbra” (*EASA Newsletter*, No. 3, 1990, pp. 7–10), Gheorghita Geană, “Prima Conferință EASA, Coimbra, 31 august – 3 septembrie 1990” (*Sociologie Românească*, Nr. 5 – 6, 1990, pp. 512 – 514), Gerhard Baumann, „EASA 1 takes off from Coimbra: The First European Conference” (*Anthropology Today*, Vol. 7, No. 1, 1991, p. 19), Miguel Vale de Almeida, „EASA 1: A View from Below” (*Ibidem*, pp. 19 – 20), Margaret Willson, “EASA 1: An American’s View” (*Ibidem*, pp. 20 – 21), Kornelia Jakubíková, “Lessons and Impressions from the European Conference of Social Anthropologists” (*EASA Newsletter*, No. 5, 1991, pp. 6 – 8).

fore, the large perspective of cross-cultural comparisons. Finally, I had reflected for a long time upon the background of the discipline I was professing and had put my reflections in a PhD thesis entitled *The Epistemological Status of Social and Cultural Anthropology* (1977). That is why, with a timidity against which the words are quite misleading, I answered: "I think I am able to make up my own course".

COMPLETING THE ANSWER: THE SYLLABUS

At that moment my answer was limited because it belonged to the category of the possible. Now it may be completed. Indeed, in the meantime, the foreseen course became a reality. According to expectations, it is a course of lectures in *cultural anthropology*, included in the yearly curriculum of the University of Bucharest, Department of Philosophy. I inaugurated it on October 8, 1991, the last lecture being planned on June 2, 1992. During this teaching year I have tried to touch upon the following main points:

I. Preliminaries. The reason of cultural anthropology as a science. Architectonic vs. rhapsodical view on science. Completeness and "impurity" in reconstructing anthropology.

Landmarks in the history of general anthropology (Herodotus, Linnaeus, Buffon, Blumenbach, Topinard, Broca, Martin, von Eickstedt; scientific anthropology as a consequence of the great discoveries).

The thematic division of general anthropology (physical anthropology and culture) anthropology); its ontologic basis (the two-fold essence of man: body/mind). The geographical division of general anthropology: American, British, German, French, and Scandinavian schools in social/cultural anthropology. Anthropometrical methods and diagnoses. Physical anthropology and its dominance over continental Europe. Typological and populationist trends in physical anthropology.

II. Ontological background (of cultural anthropology). Historical remarks: how cultural anthropology took possession of its factual domain (from "culture" to "cultures", from "oecumena" to "individual" as the last bearer of culture). Unilinear evolutionism (E. B. Tylor, L. H. Morgan, J. G. Frazer etc.). The model of the three stages as a 19th century's *forma mentis* (C. J. Thomsen, A. Comte etc.). Other evolutionary concepts: psychic unity of mankind, survivals. Historical particularism (Boas's *Limitations of the Comparative Method*). Cultural morphologism (Clark Wissler). Superorganicism (A. L. Kroeber). Psychological approaches (Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead, Cora DuBois, R. Linton, A. Kardiner).

An overbidden "illusion" (Adam Kuper): primitive society. The temptation to otherness ("other cultures"). The Hegelian key for understanding otherness. Getting back home and indigenous anthropology.emics/etics and the problem of objectivity in anthropological knowledge.

From the word "man" to the concept of "man". Individual, family and kindred, little/complex community, ethnic group, anthroposphere.

The concept of "man" and the structure of human identity. Insistence on: family and kinship (extended family/nuclear family; descent, residence, kinship systems), little community and holistic approach (Robert Redfield), ethnic groups and nations (Anthony D. Smith about the ethnic origins of nations; Gary Johnson about patriotic altruism, kin selection, and socialization).

III. Methodological coordinates. Cultural anthropology vs. philosophical anthropology (a methodological—not ontological — distinction). Behaviouristic vs. epistemological perspective on the relationship between cultural and philosophical anthropology. Myth, rite, and world view — the contributions made by L. Lévy-Bruhl, Paul Radin, Christopher R. Hallpike, Ernest Bernea (a Romanian sociologist) to the study of archaic thought.

Peculiarities of man as an object of study. Erving Goffman's distinction between "front region" and "back region". "On ne connaît que les choses que l'on apprivoise" (Little Prince). Participant observation — the exigencies of the method and its epistemological significance.

The method of cross-cultural comparisons. Radcliffe-Brown and the rehabilitation of the comparative method. Inductive basis. Group for Debates in Anthropological Theory (University of Manchester) on social anthropology as a non/generalizing science. Some co-variant phenomena revealed by cross-cultural comparisons. Statistics as a source and technique of validation. Raoul Naroll's technique of "data quality control".

IV. Conceptual instrumentation. The concept of "culture"; its status at mid 19th century. The term "civilisation" in the French intellectual tradition. The term "Kultur" in the German tradition. E. B. Tylor's definition of culture. Kroeber/Kluckhohn's "critical review of concepts and definitions" of culture. Romanian approaches to culture (especially those of the anthropogeographer Simion Mehedinți and the philosopher Lucian Blaga). Operationalizing the concept: common denominators of culture (*Notes and Queries on Anthropology*, Wissler's universal pattern of culture, Human Relations Area Files — HRAF; two Romanian guides for holistic research: Mehedinți's "ethnographical coordinates", and Gusti's scheme of social "frames and manifestations"). Variability of culture and the principle of cultural relativism. Derivative concepts: value, acculturation, enculturation.

The concept of "personality". The reluctance of post-evolutionary anthropologists to the psychological explanations of social facts (fallacious equivalence between individual and psychological phenomena). Inevitability of the psychological approaches in anthropology. Mutual deductibility of culture and personality. Extending personality from individual human being to human group: the concept of "basic personality" as an operational tool in the social sciences (Abram Kardiner). The problem of national character.

The concept of "social structure". The controversy between the "social" and "cultural" trends in anthropology. "Society" and "culture" as complementary concepts (R. Firth). Amphibolic controversy between

Radcliffe-Brown and Lévi-Strauss on the reality of "structure". Criteria of social structuring : age, gender, membership to any social category. The concept of "role" and its adjacents : symbol, rank, prestige. Nadel's formal analysis. The heuristic value of "social structure" in anthropological knowledge.

Interrelations among culture, personality, and society : the socio-psycho-cultural syncretism of human phenomena.

V. Institutional framework. Concepts as micro-institutions and institutions as macro-concepts (Stephen Toulmin). Cultural anthropologists as a human community, based on : specialized institutes and departments for research and teaching ; professional journals ; shared specialized language (concepts, paradigms, etc.) ; professional associations, professional meetings.

VI. Epilogue. Anthropological way of thinking and the making of future society.

A FEW ADDITIONAL NOTES

As it can be seen, I chose to attach to anthropology the attribute "cultural". In fact, however, free of any one-sided tradition, Romanian anthropology (other than the physical one) was *synthetically* oriented from the outset, by the 1960s, by its pioneer figure, Dr. Vasile Caramelea (b. 1915). It assigns an equal weight to culturological, sociological, and psychological interpretations. If culture is a little more emphasized, this is a way of centring a very large universe of phenomena ; and we must not forget that the culture is man's proper way of existence. (It is not so surprising that Adam Kuper finds a come-back of the Tylorian tradition of "cultural" studies within the British non-physical anthropology ².)

As to the course of such, I conceived it as an inquiry into the foundations of cultural anthropology. It is rather an epistemological introduction to the discipline — in any case not a thematical one (which I intend to deal with later on).

This course is not the first of the kind ever taught in Romania ; that performance is dated 1972 and belongs to Dr. Caramelea. By retaking now the task of teaching this difficult subject matter, I aim at contributing with my own experience to the professionalization ³ of cultural anthropology in Romania and, thereby (why not?), to the diminishing (however little) of the confusion which seems to be a general state in today's Romanian society. Although the course is merely in the first

² See Adam Kuper, *Anthropology and Anthropologists. The Modern British School*, London and New York : Routledge, (1983) 1989, p. 190 ; Idem, *The Invention of Primitive Society. Transformations of an Illusion*, London and New York : Routledge, 1988, p. 243.

³ The term „professionalization" is taken over from : Regna Darnell, *The Professionalization of American Anthropology. A Case Study in the Sociology of Knowledge*, paper read at the Sociology of Knowledge Session of the World Congress of Sociology in Varna, Bulgaria, September, 1970 (29 pp.).

year and its results are unpredictable, I would like to express my gratitude to the following of the great number of foreign scholars and friends, who have encouraged and helped me with books and articles: Andreas Argyres (University of Davis, California), Alan Barnard (University of Edinburgh), Christopher Hallpike (McMaster University, Hamilton Ontario), Edda and Shoji Iijima (University of Heidelberg), Arne Martin Klausen (University of Oslo), Adam Kuper (Brunel University), Anthony D. Smith (London School of Economics), Marilyn Strathern (University of Manchester), Elizabeth Tonkin (The Queen's University of Belfast), Jan Vansina (University of Wisconsin), Monique and Francis Bernard (Paris). Naturally, I am open to any critique and suggestions coming from them or anybody else.

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PAST AND PRESENT ANTHROPOLOGISTS

ELENA RADU

On the 5th of March 1992 we celebrated a hundred years since the birth of Professor Ion Gh. Botez, illustrious scientific personality of Romanian Anthropology.

Born in Chișcăreni, Șipote Commune, Iași County, in a peasant family, he graduated from the elementary school in his native village and from the Boarding Lycée of Iași. In 1918 he graduated from the Faculty of Natural Sciences of the Iași University.

An exceptional student, he proved passion and an uncommon seriousness for study, an imperious need of knowledge, a permanent scientific curiosity. Being appreciated by his professors, he was appointed assistant in the Animal Morphology Department of the University of Iași.

In the Faculty of Natural Sciences of Iași there prevailed interest in the origin and evolution of human being, which favoured the introduction of anthropological research in the University.

Great personalities of scientific life, such as Paul Bujor, Professor of Animal Morphology, or Ion Simionescu, Geology Professor (Grigore Cobălcescu's disciple), supported the idea of founding an Anthropological Department in Iași.

Paul Bujor, Ion Simionescu and Ion Borcea suggested that the Romanian Academy should grant a scholarship for study and specialisation in France to the young assistant in the Animal Morphology Department, Ion Gh. Botez.

Between 1921 and 1926, Ion Gh. Botez attended courses on Anthropology at the "Ecole d'Anthropologie" in Paris and under the guidance of Professor R. Anthony he prepared and defended a brilliant doctoral dissertation in Natural Science at the Sorbonne.

For the exceptional scientific value of his dissertation on the variability of the arm and forearm skeleton in primates and man, Ion Gh. Botez received in 1926 the "Paul Borcea" prize, awarded by the Paris Anthropological Society.

Back to Romania, in 1926, he was appointed associate professor in the Human Palaeontology Department of the Science Faculty in Iași. After 4 years, in 1930, when the Anthropological and Paleontological Department was set up, he became the first titular Professor of this discipline.

Human Paleontology was a science in full swing, accumulating a great many data concerning man of the fossil bearing strata.

The researches of Human Paleontology in Romania started in Basarabia, where a valuable series of prehistoric stations were uncovered in the Dniestr and Prut valleys.

Professor Th. Văscăuțeanu was the first to point out the presence of prehistoric stations on the Dniestr. In 1921, the scientific review "V. Adamache" of Iași published his research on "The Traces of the Prehistoric Man in Romania".

Later, in 1926, C. Ambrojevici published in "Natura" his research "The Prehistoric Past of Northern Basarabia", announcing the discovery of some paleolithic stations in this area.

In 1927, Ion Simionescu and N. N. Moroșan briefly recorded the first findings of the fauna and the tools of some stations from the left side of Prut in "Contributions to the Knowledge of the Paleolithic in Northern Moldavia" (The Scientific Review of the Romanian Academy). C. Ambrojevici contributed more details on Chisla-Nedjimova and Cormani stations.

In 1928, N. N. Moroșan began the description of several neolithic stations from the North of Basarabia.

In "Nouvelles Contributions Préhistoriques" published in 1929, N. N. Moroșan considerably extended in time and space the archaeological field of the Northern Basarabia, pointing out the presence of the Musterian on the Prut in the settlement near Iupiceai and the presence of the Upper Paleolithic in some points on the Dniestr valley.

All these researches of the prehistoric stations on the Prut and Dniestr valleys indicate a continuity of the human presence at least since the Middle Paleolithic.

In 1930, encouraged by Professor Ion Simionescu, Ion Gh. Botez initiated a series of researches concerning stratigraphic paleontologic and archeologic aspects in Northern Basarabia.

In 1930, Ion Gh. Botez was awarded the Prize of the Romanian Academy for "Paleolithic Data on the Stratigraphy of the Settlement".

In 1931, in the paper "Recherches de Paléontologie Humaine au nord de la Basarabie", published in Iași, Ion Gh. Botez presented some results obtained in his investigations concerning the Paleolithic from the North of Basarabia. The researches of Ion Gh. Botez confirmed the presence of the settlement in the studied points, settlement with an industry from the Superior Paleolithic. He discovered this settlement on the inferior terrace of Würmian age, closing in its foundation a developed Musterian industry.

From a paleontological point of view, the settlement on the Dniestr contained cold-loving fauna specific of high types of forests and also of grassy steppe.

Ion Gh. Botez pointed out among others that the station from Cormani revealed, for the first time in Romania, remains of the fossil human being found in the settlement.

All the paleontological researches carried on during several years indicated the wealth of prehistorical stations in Basarabia and proved that in the Prut and Dniestr valleys the human presence was constant at least since the Middle Paleolithic.

This was not astonishing as the Middle Paleolithic had also been pointed out in the neighbouring countries: Russia, Poland, Hungary. In the upper course of the two valleys, formazioni very rich in concretions of silex belonging to the upper Cretacic were found.

In 1935, at the International Congress of Prehistory in Washington, Ion Gh. Botez presented the paper "Report on the Paleolithic of Romania".

The International Congress of Prehistoric Anthropology and Archaeology took place in Bucharest in 1937. Ion Gh. Botez, was a member of the organizing committee of this congress together with professors C. Kiritescu, S. Manuilă, S. Mehedinți, I. Moldoveanu, Al. Obreja, V. Papillian, Gr. I. Popa, Francisc Rainer and Eugen Pittard.

Ion Gh. Botez was also one of the presidents of the Second Section of Human Paleontology and Prehistoric Archeology, together with K. Asolan, I. Andrieșescu, Sergiu Sergi.

The scientific activity of Ion Gh. Botez was not limited to researches of Human Paleontology, it also extended to the knowledge of the anthropological variability of the present populations. In 1938, his paper "Contributions to the Research of the Stature and of the Cephalic Index in Northern Moldavia and Bucovina" was published in Iași. For the population of Moldavia, he found an average height of 167.25 cm and a cephalic index of 82.31 and for the population of Bucovina an average height of 167.98 cm and a cephalic index of 83.24. These researches are highly important for Romanian Anthropology as they emphasize some microevolutionary phenomena on a populational level.

In 1940 professor Ion Gh. Botez became the Director of the Biological Marine Station in Agigea, bringing a valuable contribution to knowing the biology of the Black Sea.

In point of didactic activity, Ion Gh. Botez was the first to elaborate a Course of Human Paleontology in 1933 and a Course of General Anthropology in 1936.

In the Department of Paleontology and Anthropology, courses on Invertebrates Paleontology, Human Paleontology and General Anthropology were delivered during a 3-years period.

Professor Botez, courses were very appreciated by students for their scientific accuracy, for the attractive manner of presentation, opening up knowledge horizons in a science which was making its first steps and whose object was the human being, maybe the greatest miracle of life.

Some of his students became great personalities of the Romanian science: academician Olga Necrasov in the anthropological field and academician Mihai Băcescu in the field of marine biology.

Under the leadership of Professor Ion Gh. Botez, in 1940, Olga Necrasov took her PHD in anthropology at the Faculty of Science of the "Mihăileană" University in Iași, for "Recherches anthropologiques dans le Nord-Est de la Roumanie" and "The Paleolithic and Neolithic Populations in Romania".

Olga Necrasov, the worthy successor of Professor Ion Gh. Botez, subsequently became full Professor at the Morphology and Anthropology Department of the Faculty of Biology ("Al. I. Cuza" University in Iași),

Director of the Centre of Anthropological Researches of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest, member of the Romanian Academy. She has dominated the scene of the Romanian Anthropology for more than 40 years.

Academician Olga Necrasov carried out paleonthropological researches in Moldova, Muntenia and Dobrudja and researches of contemporary anthropology all over the country, for the preparation of an Anthropological Atlas of Romania. At the same time she founded a school of anthropology both in Iași and Bucharest, moulding a series of professional anthropologists, specialized in different fields of anthropology.

This proves the continuity of concerns in the anthropological field from its very beginnings, related to the name of Professor Ion Gh. Botez, going on with Professor Olga Necrasov, who extended and diversified the anthropological researches, and continuing with the present-day generation which represents "the creation" of the anthropological school of Professor Olga Necrasov.

Considered as the founder of the Romanian Anthropological School, Professor Ion Gh. Botez was highly appreciated in the scientific world, becoming a member of the Anthropological Society of Paris and of the Geological Society of France.

For Romanian Anthropology, the name of Professor Ion Gh. Botez will always be connected to the beginning of Romanian researches on Human Paleontology and General Anthropology.

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*Centre of Anthropological Researches
Bucharest*

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